

SELECTED ESSAYS एकत्रित अनुसंधान

RAHUL SANKRITYAYAN

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

10.3

दण्डि स्वामी विमलानन्द सरस्वती

वै. 3, राजबुरुगठ; शिवालाघाट
१७५

वाराणसी

२०-१-८५

RajGuru Math, Shivala, Varanasi Collection. Equipment: Heritage Foundation, Jalgaon.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF RAHUL SANKRITYAYAN

Selected Essays of Rahul Sankrityayan



PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
New Delhi

January 1984 (P 196)

COPYRIGHT © 1984 KAMALA SANKRITYAYAN

Price: Rs. 55.00

**Printed by Jiten Sen at the New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-110055 and published by him for the People's Publishing
House Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055**

Publisher's Note

RAHULJI WAS A phenomenon and his quest for knowledge phenomenal. His discoveries of several hundreds of important ancient Sanskrit and Buddhist works were without parallel. He brought those works to India which is enriched by them. If he had been a European, he would have got enormous acclaim and recognition. But in a country where more than half of the population is illiterate, Rahulji's greatness as a scholar is still to be realised. His *Volga to Ganga* is well-known here and abroad—but here only to the literate population. His works need to be collected and published. And the ancient works he had collected and brought from Tibet ought to be studied and the democratic culture and knowledge they contain must become the heritage of our people, of our masses. Heritage does not mean heirlooms exhibited in museums.

The present volume is a humble effort to present to the literate population a collection of Rahulji's unpublished scholarship. He was a Sanskrit scholar to begin with but he mastered many other languages. He took to Vaishnavism but later became Buddhist. None of these satisfied his restless quest for a dependable method to understand the processes at work in the world and in the society and to bring about social transformation and development. His zeal and persistence brought him to Marxism which he sought to elucidate in the interpretation of ancient Indian history, culture, and philosophy.

We are happy to present this volume to the reading public. However, we should in all honesty admit with shame that it has been delayed far too long—a delay which circumstances made unavoidable. We crave forgiveness for the delay and fervently hope that scholar and non-scholar alike will enjoy and profit from this work. The real credit for this volume goes, without doubt, to his wife Kamala. Her forbearance is as phenomenal as Rahulji's energy and intellect. We owe her our profound apologies for the delay.

Contents

<i>Publisher's Note</i>	v
<i>In Lieu of An Introduction</i>	ix
Buddhism in Tibet	1
History of Buddhism in Tibet—I	16
History of Buddhism in Tibet—II	30
Tibetan Studies	50
Life of Acharya Dipankara Srijnana	70
On Way to Tibet	82
The Origin of Vajrayana and Its Eighty-four Mystics	114
Renaissance of Buddhism in the East	131
The Origin of Mahayana	148
Ancient Relation between China and India	160
The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India	179
From the Land of the Lamas	196
Anatta or the Doctrine of Non-Soul	205
Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature Preserved in Tibet	215

In Lieu of An Introduction

LOST SANSKRIT WORKS RECOVERED FROM TIBET

K. P. JAYASWAL

IT IS NECESSARY that both the educated public and specialists should be apprised of the importance of discovery of manuscripts made by the Tripitakacharya Mahapandita Rahul Sankrityayan. The discovery is epoch-making. For centuries the name of this successful explorer will be cited with gratitude by the writers of Indian philosophy and Buddhism. I am going to describe below the important works recovered by him. A complete list is being published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (JBORS). I shall mention here a few out of the 50 works which the Rev^d Sankrityayan has brought and which are getting ready for the press. It is desirable to append in the second part of this note a notice of the explorer's personality which has become a national asset to us and which now belongs to the whole land of Bharatavarsha.

I. THE DISCOVERY

In 1930 Rev Sankrityayan brought twenty-two mule-loads of Tibetan books, paintings and other things. In this collection there was only one Sanskrit manuscript (palm-leaf) in Kutila script of the 10th or 11th century AD—*Vajra-Daka Tantra*—which is now at Patna Museum. A translation of this work is found in the Tibetan encyclopaedia of translations of Indian books called *Kanjur*. Probably this very copy was used in the translation by Gayadhara Pandita, a Kayastha scholar of Vaisali

Published in *Modern Review*, No 61, Calcutta, 1937 and reprinted in *Maha Bodhi*, Vol 45, No 3, Calcutta, March 1937.

(Muzaffarpur district). This was the second Sanskrit manuscript recovered from Tibet, the first being that of the *Saddharma-Pundarika* taken to Japan by Rev Kawaguchi (1900-03). Both these manuscripts were found at Shalu.

In 1934 Rev Sankrityayan, having stopped the restoration of the *Pramanavartika* (PV) from Tibetan into Sanskrit when he had undertaken, went into Tibet with the sole object of making a search of a Sanskrit manuscript of this the greatest Indian work on logic. He obtained (from the Sakya monastery) a fragmentary commentary by Prajnakara Gupta on the PV. But he found some 40 volumes of other manuscripts, a catalogue of which has been published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol XXI, Part I). The part of Bhashya (commentary) of Prajnakara Gupta has also been published by us in that journal.

In his third visit (1935) our explorer discovered 156 new works in the monasteries of Sakya, Ngor and Shalu, which mark an epoch and make him immortal. My friend was so intent on his mission that while on his way to Tibet in the mountains he dreamt that somebody gave him a bundle wherein he found all the books he wanted including the original work of Dingnaga. Dream was succeeded by fact, which went much beyond the dream. He however did not find Dingnaga's work. Rev Sankrityayan photographed folios covering 1,60,000 slokas (measurement, one sloka=32 syllables or *aksharas*). He had provided himself, according to his highest expectations, with more than necessary materials for photographing, but the haul was so great that they fell short whereupon Rev Sankrityayan sat down to copy old manuscripts in his own hand (his Ceylonese companion Mr Abhayasingha Perera, an acharya in Nyaya from Banaras, having fallen ill). He copied out 40,000 slokas. All this time I was feeling nervous lest my friend should break down by over-exertion. Nothing could be done to render relief in the matter from Patna, as even the letters reached me after several months. Fortunately the iron constitution of Rev Sankrityayan and the energy which success contributes carried the work through. Two names have to be mentioned amongst the friends who have enthusiastically supported Rev Sankrityayan in his expedition—Rajaguru Hemaraj Sharma, CIE, of Nepal and Mr P. C. Chaudhuri, ICS, of my province.

I am detailing below twenty-seven important works, the aggregate volume of which amounts to 89,333 slokas or 6400 pages of royal octavo in print. None of these had been available before and every one of which is so important that the discoverer of any of them would have felt gratified with his success.

BC Centuries

To this period belongs the Vinaya texts in Sanskrit,

1. *Upasampada-Jnapti*, 70 sks.
2. *Pratimoksha-Sutra*, (Lokottara School), 400 sks.
3. *Vinaya* (of the Lokottaravadin School), 1200 sks.

Early Authors (1st Century AD to 600 AD)

4. *Matricheta*:

We know the name of this celebrated author from the *Manjusri Mulakalpa*, from Yuan Chwang, from Tibetan and Chinese sources. But we have now his famous poem which used to be recited every day at Nalanda University when Yuan Chwang visited it. It is the *Adhyardha Sataka*—153 verses. Matricheta was a contemporary of Kanishka (1st century AD) wrongly identified with Asvaghosha. We shall be publishing this work in the JBORS before long.

5. *Nagarjuna*:

His *Vigraha-vyavartani* 450 slokas (text 72 verses, and author's own commentary in prose), wherein the author refutes the controversies raised against the Madhyamika system. He establishes here that 'pramana' itself becomes 'sadhya', i.e. loses its standard character. This very theory has been attacked by Vatsyayana in the *Nyaya-Bhashya*. Dr Tucci has translated from Chinese and Tibetan this text and published it in the Gaekwar Oriental Series.

6-8. *Asanga and Vasubandhu* (c 400 AD):

These two brothers of Peshawar are the leading Buddhist authors of the Gupta period. Vasubandhu is the imperial tutor. Asanga is the virtual founder of the Yogachara school of phi-

losophy. His original work—*Yogacharabhumi*—8000 slokas—is now in our possession.

Two works of Vasubandhu—*Abhidharmakosha-bhashya* (15,000 slokas), which has been translated by Prof Valle Poussin from Chinese into French in 6 volumes—and the *Madhyantavibhanga-bhashya* 1000 sks—are standard treatises on Buddhist philosophy. The original *Vibhanga* of Maitreya on which Vasubandhu has written his bhashya has been restored into Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhusekhar Sastri. Now the Mahamahopadhyaya may have the pleasure of editing the real original.

9. Bhavya (5th Century):

Bhavya was another Gupta author. He was a scholar of Nalanda and had been a prince while in secular life. We have now his *Tarka-Jvala*, 1500 sks, which has a second name as *Madhyamakahrdaya*. It is a polemical piece. *Inter alia* it attacks the avatars. Its Sanskrit and verses are amongst the best examples of Gupta classical literature. Vasubandhu, unlike his elder brother, adopted classical Sanskrit in Buddhism; and since his time Buddhist writers vied with Brahmanical writers in the production of literary Sanskrit. Bhavya probably reached the zenith in that matter. His philosophic views are a reconciliation of Madhyamika and Yogachara systems, which have been attacked by later Buddhist writers, but the opinions of the author will probably appeal more to the modern scholar.

10-14. Dharmakirti (c 600 AD) and Literature on Him:

In Indian logic this author marks the highest watermark. On account of his vigour and method, he has been described by Professor Stcherbatsky of the Leningrad University as "the Indian Kant". Prof Stcherbatsky has written a treatise in two volumes on his published work *Nyaya-vindu* under the title *Buddhist Logic*. But his superior work—*Pramanavartika*—which has been vastly cited in Indian literature (both Brahmanical, and non-Brahmanical) had been missing. Now Rev Sankrityayan has not only brought that main treatise on which the reputation of Dharmakirti rests, but the whole literature on it in Sanskrit, namely,

(a) *Pramanavartika* (complete, being printed in JBORS) with a commentary on the first chapter by the author himself (only one-fourth portion).

(b) A complete commentary on the latter by Karnakagomin (8000 slokas, 9th century).

(c) A complete commentary on the PV by the famous Prajñakar Gupta, professor of Nalanda (c 700 AD), who is regarded as only next to Dharmakīrti, if not an equal authority. The commentary measures 15,000 sks—half of which is verse and the other half in prose (mixed).

(d) Another commentary by Manoratha Nandi which deals with each word of the PV. Its extent is 10,000 sks. The author belongs to the 10th century. It is being printed in the JBORS.

Any scholar would have been awarded the highest place in the world of Indian scholarship for having brought to light any one of these four books. The manuscript of Karnakagomin, which is in the Sakya monastery, was written in the 11th century, and other manuscripts belong to the 12th century.

I may note here that the manuscripts copied, photographed or brought in the original by Rev Sankrityayan are on palm-leaves ranging from the 10th to the 12th century, except the commentary by Manoratha Nandi which is on paper (written in Tibet, about 1220 AD by an Indian exile).

The manuscript of Manoratha Nandi's work has a special interest inasmuch as it is in the handwriting of an Indian scholar—Bibhutichandra—who stands very high in Tibetan literature. He was one of the two Indians whose knowledge of Tibetan has been noted as perfect, the other being Smṛitijñāna (c 1030 AD) whom Dipankara Srijñāna declared to be the greatest scholar in the whole of India. Smṛitijñāna went as a missionary to Tibet and mastered Tibetan by adopting the life of a menial. Bibhutichandra was a Bengali (from Eastern Bengal, Jagat-tala). He went along with Sakya Sri Bhadra (died 1225 AD) who left India on account of Muhammadan invasion of Bihar. Sakya Sri Bhadra was the royal preceptor, head of Buddhism in Magadha, and the president of Vikramasīla University (Bhagalpur district). I have seen a few folios of a paper MS (paper was in use in Tibet at the time) brought by Sankrityayan; on its cover Bibhutichandra has the draft of a verse of his composition in

which he records that even in Tibet he never ate meat, that his heart yearned for his motherland but he could not give up his teacher. Bibhutichandra died in Tibet. He became tutor to the family who shortly after converted Kublai Khan and introduced Buddhism in Mongolia. The Tibetan scholar "Sakya Pandita" who became the greatest thinker and author in Tibetan Buddhism, was a product of Bibhutichandra and his guru.

15. *Jnana-Sri* (c 900 AD):

Kshana-bhanga-adhyaya by Jnana-Sri (900 AD) 3000 sks. The book (in prose) is criticised by Udayana, the Brahmin authority, in his *Atmatatva-viveka*, the whole chapter of 'Buddhadhikara' being devoted to it. The theme of *Jnana-Sri* is that everything in this world is changing, the only unchangeable law is this law of change. His thesis contained in the first verse of the book is largely cited.

16. *Jitari* (c 1000 AD):

Jitari was a great logician living in the neighbourhood of Vikramasila, an old man in the time of Dipankara Srijnana. His work *Nairatma-siddhi* (Proof of Non-Soul Theory) in prose (complete in 50 sks) has been recovered.

17-23. *Other Nyaya Works:*

17. *Agama-pramanya-nirasa* (50 sks) does not admit the authority of canons. Author's name unknown.

18. *Vada-rahasya* (3000 sks). Author's name unknown, but the work is important inasmuch as it answers Udayana's attacks on previous authors. It was composed in the 10th or 11th century.

19. *Tarka-rahasya* (2000 sks), similar to the *Vada-rahasya* (10th century ?).

20. *Ratna-kirti Nyaya-Nibandha*. Nine Nyaya texts by Ratna-kirti (1000 AD), two of which have been published by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri.

21. *Prajna-Ratnakara* (10th century ?) (60 sks).

22. *Hetu-vindu-anutika* (5000), and

23. *Nyaya-vindu-anutika* by Durveka Misra (11th century)

(5000) are two new works unknown before as they are not translated into the Tibetan collection.

Other Subjects

24. Rules of Conduct by Jaya-Rakshita:

On rules of conduct of a Buddhist novice preparatory to entering the monkhood we have the *Sramanerakarika* by Jayarakshita in 300 verses. Probably it belongs to the 7th century.

25. Old Hindi of 800 AD:

Amongst non-philosophic books, I must note two *Doha-kosas* of Saraha (800 AD), one of the manuscripts is in a script of about 1000 AD. The original manuscript of one has been brought to Patna and a photographic copy of the other. The language is Eastern Hindi; the collection will be regarded as the earliest example of Old Hindi. On another occasion I dealt with Saraha's language and my conclusion that it represents the oldest Hindi has found acceptance at the hands of Sir George Grierson.

26-27. Literary Works:

The *Chando-Ratnakara* by Ratnakara Santi, head of Vikramasila about 1000 AD and reputed to be Kalikala-Sarvajna ("All-knowing") is a work on prosody (700 sks). *Subhashitaratna-kosa* by Bhimarjuna Soma is an anthology. The manuscript is of the 11th century. The book is complete. It cites some authors not known before.

II. THE DISCOVERER

Rahul Sankrityayan—who is more popularly known in Bihar by the first part of his name, as "Rahulji", was born in a Brahmin family at a village (Kanaila) in the district of Azamgarh UP, forty-four years back. At the age of sixteen he left for Banaras to study Sanskrit, and at the age of twenty he entered the Vaishnava order as a virakta and was destined to succeed to an endowed mahantship at Chapra (Bihar), which he renounced, his old guru has been still pressing him to accept the mahantship. He went to Ceylon as a Sanskrit teacher. His former studies of Vaishnava

Agamas at religious centres at Madras, and of Sanskrit Darsanas (philosophies), and contact with the patriotic programme of the Arya Samaj had planted two seeds in his intellectual self—one, of patriotism and the other, of philosophy. In Ceylon at the great monastic college of Vidyalankara he studied and mastered the Tripitakas (the Buddhist scriptures), and finally decided to enter the Buddhist order (1930); after his return from his first trip to Tibet (1929) he came to the conclusions that there can be no personal god as Vaishnavism taught and that Buddhism was the only religious system he could accept.

It was about 1928 when I received his first letter from Ceylon. It was written in Sanskrit, forwarding a paper on the site of Sravasti. When I first met him (1928) in my house at Patna he had a Kambla cloak on. He looked very young—a feature he has retained, as he looks today he looks below thirty. His eyes gleamed with lustre and face showed restlessness. He had been to jail (1924-26) twice for political speeches, he has been closely associated with Bihar leaders. I found in him a combination of spiritual ambition to raise his fellowmen and a desire for right thinking and deep learning. He was then intending to go to Tibet to study Buddhism. He confided in me the secret that he had made up his mind to enter Tibet without a passport. It was difficult at that time for him to obtain a passport either from our government or from the Tibetan government which never allows an Indian to enter its own territory. He struck me at the time as a man belonging to the class to which my Oxford friend, Lala Har Dayal belonged—intensely selfless, trying to find solution and support of his religious convictions in Buddhism, and regarding that system as affording a guide to his country to break through the thralldom of philosophies and beliefs and castes and creeds. But at that time I least suspected that the man will blossom into this Rahul Sankrityayan as I know him today—a man resembling the Buddha, a man absolutely free from hostility to any living man, universal in his outlook, absolutely calm, to whom children run up instinctively, to whom man would respond as to Christ or Gautama if he said 'Follow me'. Tall, stately and handsome, he resembles the great founder of his Order, except that he has not got the blue eyes of the Buddha. His physique is powerful, mind immensely practical. He is capable of bearing great hardship, of walking great distances in the

hills, living on any food obtainable. Last year the commander-in-chief of Nepal remarked to me that the route which the monk (Rahulji) followed in going to Tibet in his first journey (i.e. the one mentioned above which the latter described in his 'Journey') was so dangerous that even the Nepalese do not venture to traverse it. On his return from Tibet, Swami Ramodara (as he was known onto that time since his Vaishnava ordination) became a Buddhist monk obtaining his ordination in Ceylon.

On account of his perfect knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures the Samgha recognised him as a Tripitakacharya. The Pandit-Sabha of Banaras gave him the title of Mahapandita. He with the help of a Chinese scholar started translating, or rather, restoring to original Sanskrit the *Vijnaptimatratā* from its Chinese translation by Yuan Chwang, which I published in the JBORS. He went into Tibet again (this time with a passport) and brought a portion of the Bhasya on the *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakirti which is the basis of the great Sanskrit treatises on logic (*Nyaya*). Rev Sankrityayan edited the portion and we published it in the JBORS. He started completing the missing portions restoring from Tibetan. It however occurred to him to make another attempt in Tibet in searching for a complete copy. The result of his visit (1936) has astounding, which Prof Stcherbatsky described to me in a letter as deserving the holding of an international conference to discuss the importance of the discovery and to mark the event.

I would like to say a few words here on the other aspect of Venerable Rahul's personality which as I have said is national property. There has been a war between two sentiments both in my own heart and in that of my monk friend's. Rahul is not only a son of Buddha, he is primarily a son of India. He regarded social and political work as of primary importance. He started writing on political subjects. He has a powerful pen as well as a powerful speech. I intervened and begged him to leave politics, and he agreed. Often I search my heart and my conscience wars with my prudence and my love of literature and history, and doubts arise. Have I stood between Rahulji and the changing destiny of my country? Have I done the right thing? Was I wrong? What an immense service would have been rendered by this intrepid recluse in breaking barriers and removing weights from the chest of my country from which she has suffer-

ed for the greater portion of her history! Rahul Sankrityayan is a man of the masses in a degree even greater than Gandhi. He has seen and studied the social systems of every country in Asia and most countries of Europe.

Swami Ramodara is a loss to the social movement but the Tripitakacharya Sankrityayan is a gain to literature. Any scholar would have become immortal by discovering any one of at least fifty books mentioned above out of the library double the size of the *Mahabharata* which he has brought back to its original home and has made available to the whole world.

Sankrityayan, between his travels, produces in a few months large tomes of Hindi translations of Pali Tripitakas. He sits down and works for many hours at a stretch. His labour is almost superhuman in writing and that terrible work of proof-reading. I always try to warn and remind him of the fate of Sankaracharya whom voluminous writing killed too early. His reply has been that he has already outlived the limit of Sankara's age. He has written the best book on the life of Buddha (*Buddhacharya*). His knowledge of Indian epigraphy is so great that I often consult him on inscriptions. His general knowledge is very wide. It is a pleasure to discuss with him a present problem—whether Indian or international. His knowledge of Persian (which he acquired in jail) and Urdu gives him a great facility in writing popular Hindi. At Sanskrit he is as facile as at Hindi. His articles have been translated into French by Prof Levi and published in the *Journal Asiatique*. I always draw on his researches and embody them into my writings. Not a minute of his is idle. As a relaxation from the proof-reading and editing of the *Pramanavartika* and its commentary he is dictating a monograph on Modern and Ancient Persia. There is no distinction in his eyes between India and the world outside, between Indian and non-Indian, he has no false patriotism in any matter. May he live long this life of the great Buddha!

The treasure brought by him from his three* visits to Tibet are gifts to the public. They are at the Patna Museum. He brought about two hundred Tibetan paintings of great historic and artistic value which are at the Patna Museum. The whole

* Rahulji once more visited Tibet after Jayaswal's death, i.e. in 1938.

In Lieu of An Introduction

xix

Tibetan Library is now available at the Research Society, and it is the biggest outside Tibet.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has recognised his service to research by electing him an honorary member. Its honorary membership is bestowed only on foremost scholars of the world.

He advocates reform of the Nagari script in this country, and contributes largely to Hindi periodicals. He believes in the wisdom of Buddha in taking knowledge to the masses. Yet his scientific interest is supreme. He has written many articles on Darwin, on evidence from excavation, on philosophy and phonetics. We await with eagerness his History of Rational Thought.

FROM



Buddhism in Tibet

I. TIBET—COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

TIBET IS A vast country bordering almost all northern frontier of India but population is very sparse. It is inhabited by a homogeneous people who are a branch of great Mongol race.

By the middle of the first century (56 AD) Buddhism reached China through Central Asia. Some of the works translated in Chinese by the first Buddhist missionary Kashyap Matanga are still available. By 372 AD Buddhism reached Korea and in 538 AD Japan also received its first missionaries. It is strange that it did not reach Tibet till 640. The reason was that the lofty Himalayas were not easy to cross and people were also still very backward—in tribal stage. But one section of Tibetans residing in the valley of Upper Yellow river, the Tangut or Amdo received Buddhism at least three centuries before it penetrated in Central Tibet. The Tanguts lived in Central Asia, they had their capital at Karakhota which was situated on the great Silk-route from China to the west. And it was Tangut people who did not submit to the world conqueror Chengiz easily. The wound inflicted by them was the cause of death of Chengiz Khan, but later they were driven out from their homeland to the south where they still live in a country called Amdo. They are very intelligent people among Tibetans and some of their scholars are still the greatest savants of Tibet. The president of the All China Buddhist Association the Geshe-Sherap* is the greatest learned living man in all Tibet.

Though Tanguts came into contact with Buddhism early, it took many centuries for Buddhism to reach Tibet proper from India through Kashmir and Nepal.

* Geshe-Sherap died some years ago.

II. PROPAGATION OF BUDDHISM

The Tibetan plateau was inhabited by a nomadic people who were divided into several clans having their own chieftains. Up to the end of the 6th century the western part of Tibet was inhabited by a Mon-Khmer race who were known as Mon-pa. When Tibetan spread to the west most of the Mon-pas were absorbed in Tibetan. The spread of Tibetan rule and culture began in the first quarter of the 7th century when North India was ruled by the King Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj. Among all the Tibetan principalities the tribes which were inhabiting the lower Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) valley had more facilities for a settled life, so here the agricultural and village life developed early. The great conqueror and the first emperor of Tibet King Srong-tsan-gon-po was born in the house of a chief of this region. At the age of 13 in 615 he succeeded his father. He organised his people and began to unite all Tibetan race in which he wonderfully succeeded and in the year 650 when he died the Tibetan empire had extended to Pamir in the west, in the north to Yellow river, in the east many provinces of China were included in it and in the south the whole of the Himalayan region accepted the rule of suzerainty of this king.

Tibet was ushered to feudal age from tribalism. Its farflung rule needed written language and other means of communications. The tribal religion and life could not satisfy the new people of the snowy ranges. Even the old capital in the valley of Tsang-po was not suitable, so King Srong-tsang had to remove his capital to the bank of a tributary of Tsang-po where the city of Lhasa was built. Before that he deputed one of his ministers Thonmi to devise an alphabet for Tibetan language. The North Indian alphabet of that period was selected for the purpose. It seems the Tanguts also made an alphabet from Central Asian Brahmi which was prevalent in the valley of Tarim. Both the scripts are used even now. The U-met—alphabet without head from Central Asia, and U-chen—with head from India. Former is used for rapid writing while the latter is used for printing purposes. The minister Thonmi was helped by the Indian scholars in the preparation of new alphabet. Tibetan language has no need of some of the letters, consequently some Indian letters were dropped. The long vowels were not

used in Tibetan so there is no place for them in Tibetan script. The fourth letter of the vargas i.e. gh, jh, dh and bha have no corresponding sound in Tibetan language and so they were dropped but some of the sounds were peculiar to Tibetan language for which they made separate alphabet adding a stroke on some letters thus *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, *dz*, *h* and *sh* were formed. The total of letters became 30 including 'a' as consonant excluding i, u, e, and o signs.

The new innovation was not limited to alphabet alone. Tibetan nobility and their king came to closer contact with the Chinese and Indian civilisation. They were eager to learn many things from them. The matrimonial alliance of King Srong-tsan with the Chinese and Nepalese royal families also attracted their attention towards Buddhism which was the religion of the two princesses who became the queens of the Tibetan king. With them many learned monks, Buddhist images and pieces of art came to Tibetan capital. King Srong-tsan became a convert to Buddhism and under his instructions the first translation of Buddhist work into Tibetan began. The *Suvarnaprabhasaottam Sutra* was one of these works which was translated by the Tibetan scholars Jnana Kumar and Mulakosha. The Chinese princess was able to build the temple Ramo-chhe which is still in existence. For the images brought by the Nepalese princess the king himself built the famous temple of Jo-khang. This is the oldest Buddhist temple in Tibet and is the most respected and revered object of worship. More than thirteen centuries are gone since the holiest temple was built but it is still as fresh and beautiful structure as though it was built only very recently. After the death of the king the Ramochhe image of Buddha was transferred to Jo-khang.

III. THE BUILDING OF FIRST MONASTERY

King Thi-srong lde-bchan (755-80) was the fifth successor of Srong-tsan. He is the Asoka of Tibet. He was only of thirteen years when he succeeded his father Thi-lde-tsug-tan (704-55). He was not only a pious devotee but a worthy successor of his forefathers, both as an administrator and soldier. The Chinese Central Asia—Sinkiang—was under his rule, so was the territory lying on the upper Yellow river valley. In the last

one hundred years Buddhism was well known in Tibet but there was conflict between the nobles, some of whom did not like the foreign religion and so many innovations. They preferred the tribal gods and rituals, while others were very enthusiastic about the new religion which brought with it rich art, culture and sciences. King Thi-srong had great devotion for Buddhism and wanted to help its propagation by every means. For this purpose he invited Acharya Santarakshita the greatest Buddhist scholar of his time, from Nalanda. He was very old, above seventy years when he crossed the lofty Himalayas. Under his direction the first Buddhist monastery was built at Sam-ye two days journey from Lhasa and not very far from the Tsang-po river. The 'vihara' was constructed on the model of the monastery of Uddantapuri situated in modern Bihar Sharif in Patna district. The central 'vihara' was destroyed by first two or three centuries after its erection but it was again restored. The Sam-ye monastery still exists almost in the same form in which it was built. Like Sri Lanka, in Tibet too the Indian Buddhist monks were not satisfied with simply building viharas and temples and propagating Buddhism. They knew well that Buddhism could not be established well unless the Sanga (Church) consists of the sons of Tibet. For this purpose the Acharya Santarakshita invited twelve monks from India who ordained the first seven Tibetan monks—(1) Jnanendra, (2) Pal-byangs, (3) Shilendra Rakshita, (4) Rin-Chhen-mohhog, (5) Klui-bang-po, (6) Devendra Rakshita, and (7) Vairvochna Rakshita.

The acharya lived the remaining part of his life in Tibet and died there at the age of hundred. His bodily remains were enshrined in a stupa erected on a closeby hill. During the author's first journey in 1929 the skull and the other relics of the acharya were kept in a glass case. The stupa was destroyed by age and the contents were gathered and enshrined in this way. Acharya Santarakshita was one of the greatest Buddhist Indian savants. His profound scholarship is established by and manifested through his monumental work *Tattva-Sangraha*, the Sanskrit original of which was discovered and published in India. Santarakshita is known in Tibet as Mkhan-chher (Mahapandita) Bodhisattva.

After the death of his illustrious father in 780 Mu-ne chan-po (780-97) succeeded to the throne. He was greatly influenced by the atmosphere of his family and the preceptor Acharya Bodhisattva. He was very keen to practise the virtues of a Bodhisattva in his own life. In practising this ideal he was ready to suffer to any extent possible and with this noble aim in view he removed to a great extent suffering of his people not only mental but economic too. He came to the conclusion that the suffering of humanity cannot be removed unless the conception of economic equality is practised in life. The empire of Tibet was still very vast comprising the whole Himalaya region, Tibet, Sinkiang and some portions of China too. He ordered the equal distribution of wealth in his realm—perhaps in Tibet proper the wealth was equally distributed. It did not last for a long time because the wealth was not divided among the people. He tried thrice. The nobility and the wealthy people became his enemies and Mu-ne was poisoned by his own mother, thus he died a martyr's death after a rule of 17 years. In those days his death had no effect whatsoever but the ruler was fully satisfied that he had during his lifetime imitated the stories of the past Bodhisattvas. Now Tibet is following the same path for which Mu-ne Tsan-po sacrificed his all. It is quite natural if the presentday Tibet is proud of this great noble heart.

IV. TRANSLATION WORKS

Outside India the Tibetan language has got the greatest number of books (4568) translated into it. There are two collections of it—(1) *Kan-jur* in which all the works attributed to Buddha are translated, and (2) *Tan-jur* which comprises 212 tomes, is translation of commentaries on Buddhist canons and independent treatises on logic, philosophy, medicine, rhetoric, poetry, etc. In a metre of 32 syllables if these works are counted the *Kan-jur* has 829,000 slokas and *Tan-jur* has 1,563,000. The sum total of both these collections is 2,393,000 slokas.

Translating activity continued from the 2nd half of seventh century up to the middle of 13th century, when Buddhism was almost wiped out from its native land. These Tibetan translations are very important and equally significant for the study of Indian thought, culture and literature besides the study of

development of Buddhism. Out of 4000 odd books translated in Tibetan language not more than 1000 or so are available in the original language. In Chinese too as many as 1467 Indian works are translated which are equivalent to 1,703,000 slokas. Some works are common in both of them.

At the end of the 13th century Tibet produced a great savant Bu-ston who collected all the translated works and made the abovementioned two collections after systematising them. Very few books were added to these collection after the 13th century. The whole translated works are classified thus:

A. KAN-JUR

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Tomes</i>	<i>Leaves</i>	<i>Slokas</i>
1. Vinaya	13	4712	100,000
2. Sutra Prajnaparamita	21	7736	182,000
3. Vaipulya Sutra	4	1548	36,200
4. Ratna-kuta	6	1757	30,000
5. Miscellaneous Sutra	32	9749	292,200
6. Tantra	20	6124	143,300
7. Nigama Tantra	2	956	22,300
8. Kala-chakra	1	469	11,000
9. Dharni Sangraha	2	572	13,300
Total	101	33,673	830,300

B. TAN-JUR

1. Stotra Sangraha	1	258	6,000
2. Tantra Mahayana	78	23,200	580,000
3. Pranjanparamita	16	4,576	114,400
4. Madhyamika	17	5,440	136,000
5. Miscellaneous Sutra	10	2,791	70,000
6. Vijnavada	16	4,255	108,400
7. Abhidharma	11	3,169	79,200
8. Vinya	17	5,159	128,900
<i>Miscellaneous</i>			
9. Jatakas	5	1,394	34,800
10. Katha	2	383	9,800
11. Pramana Shastra	20	6,320	108,000

Buddhism in Tibet

7

Samanya

12. Vyakarana	4	1,287	32,200
13. Chikitsa	7	1,771	44,300
14. Ras shastra	15	99	2,500
15. Sadharna Shastra	0	277	6,900
16. Miscellaneous	9	3,311	83,800
17. Catalogue	1	503	12,300
Total	229	64,193	15,55,300
Total of Kan-jur	101	33,679	8,30,600
Grand Total	330	97,866	23,85,600

During the reign of first five kings of Srong-tsan dynasty many works were translated but it was in the reign of the 6th monarch Thi-Tsam-po who is also known as Sad-nalegs who succeeded Mu-ne-Tsan-po that the translation was systematised. In those years (814?) the emperor asked the Indian pandits Jinamitra, Surendra Bodhi, Shilendra Bodhi, Dana-Shila, Bodhi Mitra and their interpreter the Tibetan scholar Ratna Rakshita, Dharma Thanshila Jnanasena (Ye-Shes sde), Jya Rakshita Manju Shri Verma, Ratnendra Shila : "During the time of His Majesty my father, the Acharya Bodhisattva Jnanendra, Jnandeva Kosha, the Brahmin Ananta and others translated (some works) but they made such language for their purpose which was not understood by the common people of the country. Their work was the re-translation of the languages of China, Li (Tarim valley), Sahor and others, in which there was no rule for taking the equivalent word, because of this there was difficulty in understanding the religious works. Therefore you should translate directly from Sanskrit and make a catalogue of equivalent words. There should be a rule of translation which ought not to be violated. The former translations should be again revised."

Thus the regular translation work began from the beginning of the 9th century. Not only equivalent for words was fixed but even suffixes and prefixes had the equivalent. *Dharma-dhara* was translated as *Chhos-Zin*, *Dharma-pala* became *Chhos-skyong*. For Buddha Sang-Rgyas remained as it was used for last one and a half century even by common man. Many important works like *Abhidharmakosha* by Vasubandhu, *Madhya-*

makalankara by Santarakshita, *Hetubindu* of Dharmakirti were translated in the reign of this monarch. The tenth and last monarch of this dynasty was Glangdar-ma fell at the hands of enemy of Buddhism who tried to destroy the religion which moulded the dynasty and country to a new form where art, philosophy, literature and religion were flourishing during the last two centuries. Dar-ma ruled only three years (839-42). During this short period he drove the monks from Tibet and shut all the monasteries, even the gates of Jo-khang at Lhasa were closed and only those books escaped destruction which were hidden in different places.

V. SURVIVAL AND REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM

With Dar-ma the glory of this great dynasty ended and the empire fell to pieces during the reign of his grandson Dpal-khor-ba-tsan (905-22). The local governors and important chiefs carved their small principalities. The successor of Darma-Hod-srungs (842-905) and Dpal-khor-ba-chan were ruling only the country around Lhasa. Even that small territory slipped from the hand of their descendant when Nima-mgon was forced to take refuge in western Tibet where with the help of his faithful followers he established a kingdom which was called Ngaris kingdom wanted to repair while done by Dar-ma. Besides extending their kingdom up to Baltistan on the Indus and up to Barahat (Uttar Kashi) in Garhwal they wanted to revive Buddhism which fallen in bad repute by corrupt monks. Nima-mgon was not wise when he divided his kingdom amongst his three sons—*Dpal ky-lde* got Ladakh, *Ta-shis-lde* obtained *Spu-rangs* and *Lde-gchug* got Guge. The ruler of Guge took up the work of revival of Buddhism earnestly. It was a prince of Guge dynasty—who-kehor-lde son of Kung-lde chug as bodhisattva sacrificed his all for the propagation and reformation of Dharma. He himself became a monk and took the name of Ye-shes-hod (Jnana Prabha). He sent 21 promising youths to study Sanskrit and Buddhism in Kashmir, unfortunately 19 out of this batch died and only 2 returned to take work for which they were trained. The great translator Rin chhen-Bsang-po (958-1055) was one of these two. He translated scores of important Sanskrit works. The royal priest was not satisfied with these acti-

vities. He thought the youths sent for the purpose of study could not survive the hot climate of India. And he thought of inviting a great savant from that country. After failing once, he was successful to get Dipankara Shri Jnana also known as Atisha (982-1054), a renowned scholar of the great 'Vihara' of Vikramasila.

The royal priest (Jnana Prabha) was not to live to see the fulfilment of his activities but from the arrival of Atisha in 1042 the great revival began. Every where he was accorded great reception and his messages were eagerly accepted. For 12 years he travelled almost through whole of Tibet and died at a ripe age of 72 at a place which is not very far from Lhasa. His followers were called Kadambas. They established many monasteries for the study of higher philosophy and logic as well as many hermitages for the practice of meditation. For the two or three years Atisha remained in the monastery of Tho-ling which is in the province of Manasarover. This monastery was established by the royal priest Jnana Prabha and is still a very important centre of Buddhist-learning in western Tibet. Here Atisha wrote his famous book *Bodhipathapradipa* (Lamp of the path of enlightenment). In 1044 he moved to Spurang. Here he met with his most important disciple Hbrom Ston Jinakara (1003-64). He remained with his preceptor till his death. Atisha besides preaching the Dharma translated many important works with the help of interpreters and also revised several important works.

After the arrival of Atisha many learned pandits came from India to continue his work. Among whom was Gayadhara (born in Vaishali) was invited by Hbrogmī (died in 1074), Smriti Jnana kirti was a great scholar who came to Tibet before Atisha. When he reached Nepal on way to Tibet his interpreter died but he was not daunted by this unfortunate event and continued his journey; in order to learn the language and to have mastery over it he became a domestic servant of a nomad in Tanag region where he lived for several years. At last he was found by some Tibetan scholar and his knowledge was utilised. Smriti and Vibhutchandra (1204) are only two Indian pandits who mastered Tibetan language and translated many works without the help of translators.

In this period translator (Lo-tsa-ba) Ngog, Pa-tshhab-pa translated many obtruse works like *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakirti.

VI. SA-SKYA MONASTERY

This important 'Vihara' did great service to Buddhism in the 12th and 13th century. It was established in 1073 by a chieftain named H-khon-dkon-rgyal (1034-1102). In his family was born Grage-rgyal-mtashan (1147-1216), a great scholar and an ardent lover of Buddhism. By the end of 12th century all the Buddhist centres in India were destroyed by Turks and hundreds of monks were slaughtered. Nalanda, Vikramasila, Jagattala were in ruins and hierarch of Buddhist Indian, and head of the Vikramasila Vihara Satya Shribhadra took refuge in Nepal with his nine disciple pandits including Danashila, Sangha shri (Nepali), Sugat shri, Vinaya shri, Vibhutichandra. The Sakya chieftain invited him and his followers to Tibet where he remained for more than a decade up to 1213 and returned to Kashmir his native land where he died at the age of 98 years in 1225. Most of his disciples remained in Tibet and some of the manuscripts written by them are still found in Sakya and other monasteries.

One of the great works of the last heirarch was to educate and ordain the son of Sakya chieftain who was known as Saksya-pan-chen (Maha pandit) whose name was Ananda Dhivija (1216-51). He is the greatest Tibetan scholar for all times. It was he who first introduced Buddhism among the Mongols which became national religion of the people. In 1207 Chingiz's hordes conquered whole of Tibet. After the demise of this great conqueror one of his generals Chhigya-do raided Central Tibet and killed 500 monks of the Sakya monasteries. Four years after this incidence Sakya Panchhen sent his nephews Hphagas-pa and Phy-dhagna to Mongolia for the propagation of Buddhism. In 1246 the Mongol emperor Ogotai welcomed them and accepted them his preceptors the next year.

Sakya Panchhen succeeded by his nephew Hphagas-pa who was also a monk from 1251 and up to his death in 1280 and his whole time was spent in propagation of Buddhism mostly amongst Mongols. Kublai Khan the grand son of Chingiz was in search of a religion. All the religions of the world were

eager to convert this greatest monarch of the earth to their faith but only Hphagas-pa was able to do this in 1251 when Kublai Khan presented the kingdom of Tibet as a token of love and regards to his guru. From this time the rule of monks began in Tibet. Hphagas-pa also invented alphabets for Mongolian language in which some inscriptions are still found but it did not succeed. He remained in China and Mongolia up to 1265. In 1269 again he visited Mongolia and in 1280 he died after fruitful works. Hphagas-pa was not only respected by the Mongol emperor Skar-ma-bak-ci Dharma dai (1204-83) because of the preceptor of emperor Munkhe in 1256 after seeing the mystic powers of this great Siddha.

VII. NEED FOR REFORMATION

By the end of 13th century there were three prominent Buddhist sects in Tibet. The oldest of the sects was called Nig-ma-pa, the second Kay-rgyud-pa called themselves the true followers of the eightyfour siddhas and the three San-skyapa did not rule a long time. In the 14th century many rival chieftains of the other two sects got the upper hand.

By the beginning of the 14th century, Tibet witnessed not only political chaos but Buddhism was also corrupted by different warring sects. In fact they were competing each other in falsifying the tenets of evil practices. There were hundreds of teachers masquerading as arhats and siddhas. The teaching of Atisha and 'Sakyasri' were forgotten. But in this gloom, too, there were persons who tried to keep the lamp burning; Bu-ston-Rin-chhen Grub (1290-1364 AD) was such a person. He was a great scholar and at the same time a versatile writer. Before him there were some attempts made to systematise and collect all the works translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. But it was left to Bu-ston to complete it. There are more than four thousand Indian books translated into Tibetan, of such some are considered the words of Buddhism and others the commentaries and treatises written by Indian scholars. Bu-ston systematised and collected all the words of Buddha or Buddhist canons in one found which is called *Skam-gyur* (translation of words) and the other works in even bigger collection called *Stan-gyur* (translation of shastras). The magnitude of work can be easily un-

derstood that the first collection counted in a sloka of thirty-two letters would come to about a million slokas and second is of two and a half million slokas. Very few works were added to this vast collection after Bu-ston. Bu-ston was also a sound Sanskrit scholar but he translated a few not even very important treatises or grammar. He wrote *History of Buddhism in Tibet* in 1322 which is a very reliable work. In his early age he mostly lived in Sa-skya monastery but his last years were spent in the monastery of Sha-lu where he died in 1364.

VIII. CHONG-KHA-PA (1357-1416)

In Chong-kha-pa Tibet produced one of the greatest scholars. Blo-bsang-grags-pa (Sumatikirti) was born in Chong-kha in Amdo (Tangut) province bordering Hwang-Ho river. It was a frontier district, far away from the centre of culture. Chong-Kha-pa not only turned a new leaf and new lease of life to Buddhism but he changed his home to a province of great scholars. After finishing his studies in his home province at the age of fifteen he came to Central Tibet. He studied under many teachers who belonged to different sects. He did not deny the *Tantrik* cults prevalent in his time. Perhaps he knew that it was futile to work for their annihilation, instead his whole energy was spent in establishing monasteries, colleges and training promising young men for the great task. He was fortunate to have worthy disciples who established the three famous monastic universities of De phung, Ta-shi-hun-po and Se-ra. Chong-kha-pa himself established the great monastery of Gan-dan where after his death in 1416 his body is still kept. Apart from his other great works he wrote many books, some of which became classics.

Chong-kha-pa wanted to reform the Buddhist Church. In his time the Ka-dam-pas (the followers of Atisha) were the most enlightened monks. Chong-kha-pa admired them and his followers were sometimes called new Ka-dam-pas. But the proper name of his sect is Ge-lug-pas meaning those who followed the rules of Bhikshus. In difference to other sects who wore red cap the followers of Chong-kha-pa used yellow cap, that is why Ge-lug-pas are known as yellow-cap monks. Within a very short time all the four great monastic institutions developed into great centre of learning. De-pung has more than seven thou-

sand monks under its roofs. Se-ra has five thousand, Gan-dan and Ta-shi-lun-po each more than three thousand monks with their vast establishment, many dozens of hostels each meant for a definite region. There are hostels not only for Tibet and Himalaya regions but even for far-away Siberia and Volga regions. The fame of these universities very soon reached distant lands and young scholars flocked to these universities.

On one side Chong-kha-pa and his followers were busy in propagating light of Buddhist philosophy and learning, and on the other side the other sects and their patrons were fighting each other and even destroying monastic establishments of the rivals. Though in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Mongols were no more a great power but they were still a great martial nation or tribe. Buddhism was introduced among them by the Sakya-hierarchs but Mongol monks were educated in the monasteries of Ge-lug-pas. Thus they had great influence on these nomadic people of higher Asia.

The Incarnate Lamas: Tul-ku (or incarnate Lamas) is a peculiar feature of Tibetan Buddhism. In no other Buddhist centres successor of a hierarch by incarnation is found. In Tibet most of the important abbots are succeeded by the child who is considered an incarnation of former head of the monastery. This system was introduced for the first time in 1284 when a famous teacher Skar-ma-bak-si was succeeded not by his disciple but by a boy who born two years after the former's death. May be this practice was known before him too but it has no importance. After the acceptance of the incarnation of that great Lama this practice was gradually accepted by all the four sects. Chong-kha-pa was succeeded by his disciple which practice is still prevalent though most of his important disciples were succeeded by their incarnations. The present Dalai Lama, is the fourteenth incarnation of the first Dalai Lama, who was a direct disciple of the great teacher.

प्रधान पुरोहित
अक्षर

IX. THE RULE OF MONKS

It is said to the credit of Ge-lug-pas that for about two and a half centuries they developed all their energies for the education and enlightenment and did not compete the other sects in arms. Though their influence was increasing but they did not want to

share the power of government. The other powerful sects did not much interfere in their work but in 1618 the army of ruler of Southern Central Tibet massacred thousands of monks of De-pung in new year festival. This news reached Mongolia, it infuriated the Mongol blood. The Mongol Chief Gushri Khan (1582-1654) was known for his heroic deeds.

It may be remembered that the fourth Dalai Lama was born among Mongols. So there was blood relation between an important Ge-lug-pas monastery and the Mongols. Gushri Khan organised the crusaders to avenge the massacres of their revered monks. Central Tibet was at that time under the rule of Tsang (Southern Central Tibet). Their army tried to stop the Mongol hordes. In 1620 their defeat was not decisive. Next year their power was smashed but Mongols made peace under conditions that they will not molest the Ge-lug-pas monks. Tsang-pas were not only the adversaries to whom the Mongols were faced. In the end the Mongols forced to subdue one by one, all the rulers of Tibet and by 1642 most of Tibet was cleared of the petty chiefs. At this time the fifth Dalai Lama was the most important abbot of the greatest monastery of the Ge-lug-pas (De-pung). Gushri Khan offered the Tibetan kingdom to the fifth Dalai Lama, whose name was Blo-bsanggyan-tsho (Sumati Sagar). From the middle of 17th to the middle of 20th century Tibet was ruled by Dalai Lamas. The present Dalai Lama is the fourteenth of the Dalai Lamas and the tenth of the ruling monks. The Dalai Lamas ends with sagar (ocean), the Mongol equivalent of which is *talai*. Thus *Ta-lai* Lama or Dalai Lama became the nick-name of that incumbent. The fifth Dalai Lama was also famous for his scholarship. During his time some important grammar books like *Prakriya-Kaumnudi* (1658) and *Sarasvata* (1665) were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. In 1664 some books on Ayurveda (medicine) were also translated. These are the last translations of Indian works into Tibetan.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century again chieftains belonging to the other powerful sects wanted to challenge the authority of the Dalai Lama. Again Mongol crusaders in the form of Zung-gar came to Tibet in 1717 and they destroyed the enemies with their many fine establishment. Even they did not spare their religious establishments. The oldest sect Nig-ma-pa sided with the chief adversary Laho-bsang. Hence they were to

suffer greatly at the hands of the Mongols. Many old beautiful monasteries were looted. Well constructed stone walls are still standing which witnessed the fury of the northern hordes.

Though Tibet became a theocratic state after the accession of the fifth Dalai Lama but it did not practise the religious intolerance. Many thousand Muslims live in Lhasa and a few other important places. They have full freedom for their religious practices. Even Roman Catholic monks (Capuchin Fathers) were allowed to stay in Lhasas. Their mission was still working in 1708 in the capital of the country but owing to hardships and no response they left the country on their own accord.

The great monastic universities are still the great seats of learning though not more than twenty per cent monks are engaged in real study or religious practices. But Chong-kha-pas' behest is still followed. Some monk scholars are proud possession of any country. The present president of All-China Buddhist Association Ge-she-she-rab-gyal-Chho formerly belonged to De-pang monastery.

X. MODERN TIBET

Tibet remained in medieval age up to 1950, it checked growth of national genius but at the same time it served the cultural traditions and objects of arts for us. India and other Buddhist countries too, cannot repay the debt which they owe to Tibet. Owing to agreeable climate Tibet preserved hundreds of palm leaves of Sanskrit manuscripts which were originally taken to Tibet from India. Many original works of the great Indian thinkers like Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasu-Bandhu, Dharmakirti would have been lost if the palm leaf copies were not preserved in Tibetan monasteries. Many more original works are sure to be discovered when a thorough search is made in all the ancient monasteries. Hundreds of paintings, bronze images and other objects of arts are still found there, which were mercilessly destroyed in India in the first two centuries of Muslim rule. Many personal belongings of great Indian teachers are well preserved in Tibet. The modern Tibet is ready to reveal all these precious treasures to outside world. Tibet has entered the new age with great confidence.

3. दिव्यपुत्र
बौद्ध शास्त्र
संस्कृत →

4. अदिता

share the power of government. The other powerful sects did not much interfere in their work but in 1618 the army of ruler of Southern Central Tibet massacred thousands of monks of De-pung in new year festival. This news reached Mongolia, it infuriated the Mongol blood. The Mongol Chief Gushri Khan (1582-1654) was known for his heroic deeds.

It may be remembered that the fourth Dalai Lama was born among Mongols. So there was blood relation between an important Ge-lug-pas monastery and the Mongols. Gushri Khan organised the crusaders to avenge the massacres of their revered monks. Central Tibet was at that time under the rule of Tsang (Southern Central Tibet). Their army tried to stop the Mongol hordes. In 1620 their defeat was not decisive. Next year their power was smashed but Mongols made peace under conditions that they will not molest the Ge-lug-pas monks. Tsang-pas were not only the adversaries to whom the Mongols were faced. In the end the Mongols forced to subdue one by one, all the rulers of Tibet and by 1642 most of Tibet was cleared of the petty chiefs. At this time the fifth Dalai Lama was the most important abbot of the greatest monastery of the Ge-lug-pas (De-pung). Gushri Khan offered the Tibetan kingdom to the fifth Dalai Lama, whose name was Blo-bsanggyan-tsho (Sumati Sagar). From the middle of 17th to the middle of 20th century Tibet was ruled by Dalai Lamas. The present Dalai Lama is the fourteenth of the Dalai Lamas and the tenth of the ruling monks. The Dalai Lamas ends with sagar (ocean), the Mongol equivalent of which is *talai*. Thus *Ta-lai* Lama or Dalai Lama became the nick-name of that incumbent. The fifth Dalai Lama was also famous for his scholarship. During his time some important grammar books like *Prakriya Kaumudi* (1658) and *Sarasvata* (1665) were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. In 1664 some books on Ayurveda (medicine) were also translated. These are the last translations of Indian works into Tibetan.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century again chieftains belonging to the other powerful sects wanted to challenge the authority of the Dalai Lama. Again Mongol crusaders in the form of Zung-gar came to Tibet in 1717 and they destroyed the enemies with their many fine establishment. Even they did not spare their religious establishments. The oldest sect Nig-ma-pa sided with the chief adversary Laho-bsang. Hence they were to

suffer greatly at the hands of the Mongols. Many old beautiful monasteries were looted. Well constructed stone walls are still standing which witnessed the fury of the northern hordes.

Though Tibet became a theocratic state after the accession of the fifth Dalai Lama but it did not practise the religious intolerance. Many thousand Muslims live in Lhasa and a few other important places. They have full freedom for their religious practices. Even Roman Catholic monks (Capuchin Fathers) were allowed to stay in Lhasas. Their mission was still working in 1708 in the capital of the country but owing to hardships and no response they left the country on their own accord.

३. दिव्यपुरुष
हारा शास्त्र-
समेत ->

The great monastic universities are still the great seats of learning though not more than twenty per cent monks are engaged in real study or religious practices. But Chong-kha-pas' behest is still followed. Some monk scholars are proud possession of any country. The present president of All-China Buddhist Association Ge-she-she-rab-gyal-Chho formerly belonged to De-pang monastery.

४. उद्दिष्टा

X. MODERN TIBET

Tibet remained in medieval age up to 1950, it checked growth of national genius but at the same time it served the cultural traditions and objects of arts for us. India and other Buddhist countries too, cannot repay the debt which they owe to Tibet. Owing to agreeable climate Tibet preserved hundreds of palm leaves of Sanskrit manuscripts which were originally taken to Tibet from India. Many original works of the great Indian thinkers like Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasu-Bandhu, Dharmakirti would have been lost if the palm leaf copies were not preserved in Tibetan monasteries. Many more original works are sure to be discovered when a thorough search is made in all the ancient monasteries. Hundreds of paintings, bronze images and other objects of arts are still found there, which were mercilessly destroyed in India in the first two centuries of Muslim rule. Many personal belongings of great Indian teachers are well preserved in Tibet. The modern Tibet is ready to reveal all these precious treasures to outside world. Tibet has entered the new age with great confidence.

History of Buddhism in Tibet

PART ONE

IT WAS IN the third century BC, when the Emperor Asoka became its great devotee, that Buddhism began to spread outside India. The Buddhist missionaries were not satisfied with the conversion of Ceylon and Burma alone. They reached Mesopotamia and Syria in Asia Minor, Egypt in Africa and Macedonia in Europe. In the same period Buddhism spread in Central Asia and, according to tradition, a son of Asoka was successful in establishing his own kingdom in Kutch and its neighbourhood. There is a doubtful tradition that Buddhism reached China at a very early period. We have got several translations of Buddhist works still preserved in Chinese language; these translations were made by Kasyapa Matanga who went to China in 56 AD. Buddhism was introduced into Korea in 372 AD, and it reached Japan, the land of the rising sun, in 538 AD. In Indo-China, too, Buddhism was already there before the third century AD.

The question now arises why Buddhism was propagated into Tibet so late as 640, when it had already reached so many lands situated so far away from its place of birth.

From a close examination of the situation it appears that the delay was caused by the geographical position of Tibet and the consequent slow social evolution there. Generally, the human habitation in Tibet is at a height of ten thousand feet above the sea level. If at some places it is met with a lower level, at others it is found at levels as high as fourteen thousand feet. By

This article was published in the first edition of *Ramakrishna Centenary Volume* (one).

reason of such enormous height Tibet experiences severe cold, and her hills and valleys are devoid of forests and of almost every kind of vegetation. Thus in Tibet the people found the struggle for existence to be very keen. And in search of a remedy they found an easy solution in restricting the growth of population by having one wife for all the brothers in a family. Since they adopted polyandry, the difficulties were partly obviated and for generation it sufficed to have the same house, the same number of sheep and goats, and the same plot of land without any need for expansion or extension. If we accept the tradition, agriculture was introduced there in the beginning of the Christian era when Bya-khri was her sovereign. In fact, if the outsiders had not made dangerous passages across the Himalayas and compelled the Tibetans to come in contact with them, it is doubtful if any change would have been effected in their archaic ways of life till today.

Before the birth of *Srong-btsang-sgam-po* (617) Tibet was divided into numerous principalities. Kong-po, the birth-place of *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*, is the warmest province of Tibet. Naturally enough, agricultural civilisation was first to develop here. Tradition has it that *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* was a descendant of Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, who was a contemporary of Buddha. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the family and the homeland of *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* were more advanced in culture than their neighbours. The locality was more densely populated. And its people had heard the stories of the grandeur and magnificence of the courts of the emperors of India and China.

SRONG-BTSAN-SGAM-PO (630-698 AD)

At the early age of thirteen *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* succeeded his father, but he was not the man to be satisfied with such a small kingdom to rule. Like his contemporary Emperor Harshavardhana, he wanted to conquer all his neighbouring states and to build a great and enduring empire for his dynasty. He organised the fearless and hardy Tibetan mountaineers and made out of them a strong army, with the help of which he was able to subjugate all neighbouring provinces of Dbus and Gtsang without much difficulty and in a few years he became the master of the

whole of Tibet. But even this was not enough for his great ambition, and so the Tibetan army conquered all countries from Gilgit in the west to the Chinese Turkistan in the north. He defeated Amsuvarman, king of Nepal, who was forced to give his daughter in marriage to the Tibetan sovereign. The emperor of China was also defeated and he offered his daughter together with some of his provinces to the conqueror of no small consequence. Srong-btsan-sgam-po was now the emperor of all Tibet and the neighbouring countries.

To be able to control such a vast empire effectively, he introduced many new laws, regulations and innovations. One of his first measures was to change his capital from the bank of the Brahmaputra to the bank of the Dbus-chu river and then founded the city of Lhasa. What was formerly called Ra-sa (the land of goats), now became known as Lhasa (the land of gods). Before his time the art of writing was quite unknown in Tibet; so he sent his minister Thon-mi, the son of Anu, with sixteen others to India for the study of the alphabet. After his return Thon-mi invented the Tibetan characters on the model of the contemporary North Indian alphabets. He was the first grammarian of the Tibetan language. His grammatical treatise is still the standard work on the subject. The emperor retired to a cave near the vicinity of Lhasa for four years in order to study the new alphabet and grammar.

It was Thon-mi with whom the Nepalese princess reached Lhasa. The Chinese princess brought with her a very old sandalwood image of Buddha, which had gone from India to China via Central Asia. In the northern quarter of Lhasa she built the temple of Ra-mo-che where the sandalwood image was enshrined. Khri-chu (Bhrikuti) the Nepali princess, a daughter of King Amsuvarman (645), took with her the images of Maitreya, Akshobhya and Tara; but she had not sufficient money and the emperor coming to know her financial difficulties built the famous temple of Rjo-khang in the centre of the capital after filling up a lake which existed there. It was through the influence of his two queens and their countries of birth, China and Nepal, which were strongholds of Buddhism, that Srong-btsan-sgam-po was converted to Buddhism.

Tradition has it that it was this emperor who introduced the earthen pot, water-mill and the hand-loom into Tibet. It can-

not, however, be gainsaid that Emperor Srong-btsan-sgam-po was a great and good ruler and was the creator of the literature, religion and polity of Tibet. The conversion of the emperor into Buddhism opened before him a new vision for developing primitive Tibet into a progressive country, which he successfully achieved during his own lifetime. Buddhist scholars and teachers were brought to Tibet to teach the people civilised ways and means, manners and customs, arts and sciences. They did not fall into the common error of the reformists of all times, inasmuch so they did not try to Indianise the Tibetans or make them a replica of the Chinese. On the contrary, they Tibetanised Buddhism and clothed the new religion and culture that they had brought with them in the familiar Tibetan garb to make them at once easily acceptable to the Tibetans. They conferred on Tibet their well-matured art, literature, religion and philosophy—but none in a foreign garb. With this end in view from the very outset they set themselves to translating their own sacred literature into the Tibetan language. The great Pandit Kumara (from India), Sila-manju (from Nepal), Tuna (from Kashmir) and Mahadeva (from China) with the help of Thon-mi and his disciples Dharmakosa and Lha-lung-rdo-rje-dpal translated many works into Tibetan. Very few of Thon-mi's translations survive in Tibet. All the other works were superseded by later translations and hence the former are scarcely found there. *Karanda-vyuha-sutra*, *Ratna-megha-sutra* and *Karma-sataka* were translated by Thon-mi. The Chinese teachers mostly devoted their time to translating works on mathematics and medical science. India, China and Li (Chinese Turkistan), all these three countries cooperated with the Tibetan scholars for the translation of these works. Two monks from Li composed the life of the emperor which is now lost. After a long reign of sixty-nine years Emperor Srong-btsan at the age of eighty-two died in the province of Phan-yul, to the north of Lhasa in 699. After his death, Empress Kong-jo (of China) ordered the sandalwood image of Buddha, originally taken from China, to be placed in Hphrul-snag (Rjo-khang) where it is still to be seen.

MANG-SRONG-MANG-BTSAN (699-712 AD)

Emperor Srong-btsan had by his Nepalese queen a son named

Khri-tsun who died during the lifetime of his father. So Mang-srong-mang-btsan, another son by the Chinese queen, succeeded his father. Though before the grand personality of his father the valour of the new king paled, yet there is no doubt that he was the worthy son of a worthy father, and his fitness as a ruler was shown by his defeating the Chinese forces when the latter tried to wrest back some of the territories which his father had conquered from the Chinese. He and his son Dung-srong (712-30) followed in the footsteps of their great predecessor in their devotion to Buddhism. Dung-srong was married to Yun-sing-kong, a daughter of the Chinese emperor.

KHRI-LDE-GTSUNG-BRTAN (730-802 AD)

Khri-lde-gtsung-brtan was born in the year his father Dung-srong died and was placed on the throne as an infant. Finding an infant on the throne of Tibet, once again China essayed to recover her lost territories. It was for the possession of Gilgit, through which lay the important highway to India from China, that there was a fierce tussle between China and Tibet, in which the former was beaten. The Chinese emperor gave his daughter Chin-cheng in marriage to the Tibetan crown prince Hjad-tsha-lha-dpon, but when the prince was going to receive his future bride he died as a result of an accident; so the Chinese princess was married by the Tibetan emperor himself. She got a dowry of two of the provinces of China—Chin-chu and Ku-e-i on the Hwang-Ho or the Yellow River. Mulakosha of the village Blan-ka and Jnanakumara of Ngag, two Tibetan translators, translated some works from Sanskrit in the reign of Emperor Khri-lde. The translation of the *Suvarna-prabhasottama-sutra* belongs to this period.

KHRI-SRONG-LDE-BTSAN (802-45 AD)

This emperor is considered to be Asoka the Great of Tibet. He was born near Bsam-yas in the Iron-Horse year (790 AD). Like the great Emperor Srong-Btsan he was only thirteen when his father died, with the differences, however, that he inherited an empire which was far greater in magnitude than that of Srong-btsan. At this period the Tibetan empire was not confined to

Tibet alone. It was a far-flung empire and encompassed within its limits all the tracts to the north of the Himalayas from Gilgit to Assam and besides comprised several Burmese and Chinese provinces as well. To the north it stretched up to the Yellow River, while the Indian possession of Tibet reached at times almost to the banks of the Ganges. Since the time of Srong-tsan in the course of three quarter of a century the primitive and a pastoral Tibet was transferred into a progressive country and a mighty empire which rivalled the great kingdoms of India and China. At the same time a great tide of art and culture of religious fervour and progress surged over the length and breadth of the land. Though the Tibetan emperors almost invariably married Chinese princess and were thus half Chinese themselves, yet they never compromised an iota of their Tibetan culture and spirit and always ready to fight their maternal relations for maintaining their own cultural tradition. Chinese men of letters, however, had a great influence in the Tibetan court and most of the Dharmacharyas (religious teachers) there were Chinese.

Before the introduction of Buddhism in 640 Tibet had a religion of demon and nature worship which is known as Bon. Though Buddhism showed great catholicism by accepting certain modes of worship from that indigenous religion of Tibet, there was however a great considerable struggle between these two religions for supremacy in Tibet. During the minority of the emperor the Bon party got the better of the Buddhist party. The protagonists of Bon wanted the famous sandalwood image of Buddha to be packed off to China for good, in which, however, they did not succeed. But they removed the image from the temple and buried it at some unknown place. The temple itself was changed into a slaughter-house and a butcher's shop. But some calamity having soon after befallen the two Bon party ministers, they were demoralised by superstition, and lost no time to unearth the image and send it away to Skyed-rong in the province of Mang-yul near the border of Nepal.

While reading the lives of his forefathers the young emperor learned how his predecessors had bestowed all their faith and devotion on Buddhism. It created a profound impression on his youthful mind. He started studying secretly the sacred books of Buddhism, stowed away and concealed by the people, and in

कण आन,
 विन्दु मान

the end he turned out to be as zealous a Buddhist as any of his forefathers. He ordered two Chinese monks Me and Po and a Kashmirian Pandit Ananta to translate Buddhist works, but the active hostility of his Bon ministers prevented them from prosecuting the task and they were forced to go to Mang-Yul, whose governor was a Buddhist. The two Chinese monks and Pandit Ananta remained there, but Gsal-Snag who afterwards became known as Ye-Ses-Dvang-Po (Jnanendra) went to India. After paying his homage to Mahabodhi (Bodhi-Gaya) he went to Nalanda where he heard of the fame of Acharya Santarakshita. But the acharya was not there at the time. Luckily, however, he met him in Nepal. At the request of Jnanendra the acharya consented to pay a visit to Mang-Yul. He remained there for some time and Jnanendra was greatly benefited by his company. It may be noted here that in those days the main route from India to Tibet lay through Nepal via Bhikhunthori in the district of Champaran and through Skyed-rong (Mang-yul).

In the reign of this emperor too, China measured swords with Tibet. Once again Tibet emerged victorious and this victory is inscribed on a stone column which still stands at Lhasa below the famous Potala Palace.

Now, Jnanendra went to Lhasa and had many religious discussions with the emperor. The emperor and some of his ministers were anxious to restore Buddhism to its pristine glory in Tibet, but the minister Ma-sang-khron-pa-skyed of the Bon party was so powerful that they dared not translate their desire into action. A conspiracy was, however, hatched, as a result of which Ma-sang was buried alive and with his bones the Bon religion was also buried in Tibet. According to the desire of the emperor, Jnanendra went to fetch Acharya Santarakshita. On his arrival, the difficulty of the language was overcome by the Kashmirian Pandit Ananta who was versed both in Sanskrit and Tibetan languages, and served as an interpreter, and the king thus conversed with great acharya of India to whom he extended a right royal reception.

For four months the acharya held religious discourses in the palace on the ten forms of good (kusala), the eighteen spheres and the twelve-limbed causality. The emperor responded by becoming a devoted disciple of Archarya Santarakshita. But

three great calamities followed on the heels of this memorable event. There came a great flood in Phang-thang, one of the most populous districts in Tibet, as a result of which it was totally devastated. Next the Red Hill on which the present Potala Palace came to be constructed in 1645 AD was struck by lightening and a cattle epidemic raged in the land. Superstition once again came into play, but this time it swung in favour of the protagonists of the Bon religion. They raised the convenient slogan that the gods of Tibet were mightily enraged at the reintroduction of heresy by Acharya Santarakshita and they were punishing the people with these fearful visitations. The people echoed the cry and the emperor had to submit unwillingly to the popular clamour for the expulsion of the acharya and he was accordingly sent back.

After some time, Jnanendra, at the instance of the emperor, proceeded to China for making a collection of Buddhist works there. There the emperor now commissioned Bhikshu Sang-si (from the province of the same name, modern Shansi) with three other companions to fetch Acharya Santarakshita, in which they were not successful. On their return Jnanendra was sent for the same purpose once again, an old man of seventy-five as he was, the acharya was not inclined to lose this opportunity of propagating the noble Dharma. Bsam-Yas in the valley of the Brahmaputra which was at a distance of two day's journey from Lhasa was selected for the residence of the acharya.

Though Buddhism had been introduced into Tibet two centuries back, neither any monastery was constructed there so far nor was any Tibetan ordained for the Buddhist monkhood. The emperor had a great desire to achieve these and according to his direction a place was selected where the foundation of the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet was laid in the year 823 and which was completed in 835. Tibetan chronicles say that this Vihara of Bsam-Yas was built on the model of Udantapuri (Bihar Shareef), a Vihara built by King Dharmapala in 769-809. The plan of the monastery reproduced the geographical notion in vogue at the time. The centre was occupied by the main temple representing the Sumeru, with twelve abodes for the monks surrounding it and symbolising the four *dvipas* (islands) and eight *upadvipas* (semi-islands), which were all enclosed by a re-

ctangular wall standing for the *Chakravala* or horizon which was pierced by four gates facing the four cardinal directions. At a little distance from the main shrine four magnificent stupas were built, each with bricks of different colours. It took full twelve years to complete this monastery despite the vast resources of this powerful empire and when completed, the monastery must have presented a magnificent spectacle. After the completion of the monastery, learned Buddhist monks from India and elsewhere were lodged in the twelve *dvipas* or abodes of the monks and they laboured hard for the translation of the sacred works. The library that gradually grew up in the monastery excelled both in number and in the variety of its collections more than many older and famous libraries in the Buddhistic world, so much so, that when in 1047 Dipankara Srijnana, the celebrated Buddhist acharya of India, visited Tibet, he was struck by the vastness of the Tibetan collection and what is more he found many texts there which were not available even in the greatest of the Buddhist monasteries in India. But as ill luck would have it, this library with its invaluable collection of works was totally destroyed by fire in the twelfth century, after which the ill-fated monastery, which was built of wood according to the prevailing practice of the time, was rebuilt by Rva-le-tsa-ba Vajrakirti. The Indian practice of building monasteries on the plains, which was originally followed in Tibet, was subsequently abandoned since the thirteenth or fourteenth century and the practice of perching them on the slopes of hills was adopted instead. The monasteries of Shalu (1040) and Snar-thang (1155) and others including the monasteries of Ne-thang where Dipankara died in 1054, were all built on the plains according to the Indian system.

When the construction of the original Vihara was proceeding, Santarakshita sent for twelve Sarvastivadin Bhikshus from Nalanda for the ordination of the Tibetan monks, probably as a special precaution, though the rules laid down a quorum of five monks being sufficient for the purpose outside Middle India (UP and Bihar). Thus in the Sheep-year (827 AD) the first seven Tibetans—Jnanendra, Srighosa, Silendrarakshita of Gtsan, Rinchen-mchog of Rma, Nagendra of Hkhen, Devendrarakshita of Gtsang and Virochanarakshita of Pagor—were ordained. Thus by founding the first Buddhist monastery and the first Buddhist

monastic order there Acharya Santarakshita laid a strong and deep foundation for Buddhism in Tibet.

Acharya Santarakshita and his Tibetan disciples also translated several Sanskrit works into Tibetan, but the technique of translation having been yet imperfect, they were superseded by later translations and are not available now; the only extant work translated by Santarakshita with the help of his Tibetan interpreter Dharmakosa is that of *Hetuchakra*—a work on logic by Dinnaga.

At the age of hundred (in or about 840 AD) Santarakshita died having met with an accident caused by horse. His body was embalmed and preserved in a stupa built on hill in the eastern vicinity of the monastery. Only about forty years back when the stupa had tumbled down, his skull and several other bones were collected which are kept in a glass case inside the main shrine.

Santarakshita was a great philosopher of his time which is evidenced by his monumental work, *Tattwa-Samaraha*, in five thousand stanzas, wherein he surveyed the whole range of the Indian philosophical systems. Many scholars considered him to have been one of the great trio of Buddhist philosophers, the other two being Dinnaga and Dharmakirti. There can be no doubt that for such a great scholar there was no dearth of respect and honour in his own motherland in those distant days. But the fact that the spirit of noble adventure and missionary zeal were not yet lost to the scholars and sages of India, finds eloquent testimony in the case of Acharya Santarakshita who even at the age of seventy-five undertook tasks which daunt people in the prime of their youth today. It is for this fact that he is better known in Tibet as Acharya Bodhisattva than by his own real name. This deification is no doubt a worthy tribute to him from those for whom he devoted the mature wisdom and the fullness of the learning of his latter days. After his death there was some trouble in Tibet due to the preaching of the Chinese monks contrary to the teachings of the great acharya. Thereupon his disciple Kamalasila was invited from Nalanda and it was through his intervention that the threatened schism was averted.

EMPEROR MUNI-BTSAN-PO (845-46 AD)

Emperor Khri-srong was a brave man, but he was more religious minded than worldly wise. His personality influenced his entire household and also his people to no small extent. After his death in 845 his son Muni-btsan-po succeeded him. The new king was brought up in an atmosphere charged with the extreme form of the Bodhisattva ideal which viewed with great approval even the renunciation of one's own salvation in rendering services to others and removing their sufferings. So when Muni came to the throne he was already dreaming great dreams quite in consonance with the great ideal that inspired him. He saw poverty and misery in all sides which bred deep discontent among those who found others richer and happier than themselves and were treated with scorn by them for their poverty. In his quest for a remedy he hit upon a solution by an equal distribution of wealth—a strange anticipation of the remedy proposed by the economists of today to obviate the widespread misery the modern world is suffering from. So in the course of the years 845-46 he appropriated the wealth of the nation and redistributed it equally among all. But as the well-intentioned monarch did not realise in those distant days that an equal distribution of wealth was meaningless without a proper distribution of work, his bold experiments achieved only contrary results by encouraging idleness on the one hand and resentment on the other, and thus they came to nothing. These repeated experiments so frightened the people including his own mother, that the latter poisoned him and he died before he had been more than nineteen months on the throne of Tibet. Some people may look upon him as a mad man. If mad at all, he was only so after a noble ideal which many sane men of our time have so devotedly served and so successfully fulfilled.

KHRI-LDE-BTSAN-PO OR SAD-NA-LEGS (846-77 AD)

After his death, his brother Khri-lde-btsan-po succeeded him. He also was a pious Buddhist monarch like his father and brother. Far from his capital in the west at Skar-rdo in Baltistan, he built a Buddhist temple. Prior to his time Tibetan translation from other languages was carried on in a haphazard way.

It was he who introduced the new technique of translation which still remains unsurpassed even by the modern progressive translations of the world. In that it preserves at least eighty per cent of the perfect equivalents of original vocabularies in an ingenious way. In the edict which he promulgated in this connection in the Horse-year (850 or 862) of his reign, he regretted the former haphazard translation in which due regard was not paid to the selection of proper Tibetan words. These works which were subsequently compiled are known as the *Vyutpattis* and are included in the *Tan-jur* collection. The system of having definite words for all prefixes, suffixes and roots, which was thus evolved, is now found to be invaluable for the purpose of the restoration of the original texts. The emperor further ordered the Buddhist monks and scholars engaged in the translations only from Sanskrit texts for the sake of precision. From 850 to 900 the period was one of intense activity in this direction and the volumes of works translated during these fifty years surpassed those of any other period. Of the numerous scholars engaged in this work, mention may be made of Jinamitra, Surendra-bodhi, Shilendra-bodhi, Danasila and Bodhimitra from India and of Ratnarakshita Dharmasila, Jnanasena and Jayarakshita among the Tibetan interpreters.

EMPEROR RAL-PA-CAN (877-901 AD)

By superseding his elder brother Glang-dar-ma, Ral-pa-can became the emperor. In his devotion to Buddhism he was not only following his forefathers, but he tried to outstrip them all. He had an unbounded veneration for monkhood. He allotted seven householders for the service of each monk. Many state functions were appropriated by the monks during his rule. Even the chief administership of the capital city Lhasa was given to a monk. By the consent of these fathers Prince Gtsang-mo entered the monastic order. Thus this blind devotion surpassed all bounds with the result that many worthless people were tempted to enter the order. Glang-dar-ma, the superseded prince, took this opportunity to spread all manner of rumours against the reigning king and his Buddhist priests. A rumour was spread that the monk Bande-de-guna-sri, who was a favourite of the king, had immoral relations with the queen Nan-tshul-ma.

In the end the Bhikshu was murdered by the conspirators where upon the queen also committed suicide. The emperor was also assassinated by two favourites of Glang-dar-ma in the year 901.

Thus for 162 years (from 640-802) Buddhism was favoured and respected in Tibet, while for a hundred years (from 802-901) it enjoyed extraordinary prestige and veneration. Now it was its turn to fall on evil days.

GLANG-DAR-MA (901-02 AD)

After the assassination of his brother, Glang-dar-ma ascended the throne. Chinese historians note that the new emperor was addicted to drink, gambling, etc., and was a libertine, a cruel man, an oppressor and an ungrateful one. Whatever he might have been, he could not have done harm to Buddhism if the Buddhist monks had not taken undue advantage of the power and position they held and if the emperor Ral-pa-can had evinced statesmanship together with an intelligent devotion to and sympathy for Buddhism. Glang-dar-ma rewarded Dpas-Rgyal, the assassin of his brother, by raising him to the status of a minister, and many other notable anti-Buddhists were appointed to the high posts of the state. He ordered all Bhikshus to renounce monkhood and return to lay life. Those who did not comply with his orders were given bows and arrows and were forced to lead the life of hunters. Many were beheaded for their refusal to obey the order of the emperor. The famous sandalwood image of Buddha was removed from the Rje-khang and buried in the sand. The gates of the temples were blocked and plastered and on them were depicted the pictures of the Bhikshus in the act of drinking wine. Many sacred books were destroyed and only those survived which were concealed by devoted Buddhists in the catacombs of the Lhasa hills. Samadhibhadra of Ang and Ratnotara of Rma were murdered and other Pandits and Lo-tsa-vas fled for their lives.

No doubt the Buddhists committed great mistakes and thus these well-merited chastisements on themselves. But in these two centuries and a half Buddhism did a great service to Tibet and the Tibetan nation. So it was scarcely in the fitness of things to award it was the extreme penalty of extinction. After

some time when the wrongs done by the former priests and the monarch were forgotten, serious reaction set in against the tyranny of the new ruler. Sri Vajra of Lha-lung, a monk, was practising yoga a few miles to the east of Lhasa. When he heard of the persecution of the Buddhists he could no longer restrain himself. Clad in a skin coat painted black outside with a fleeting colour and having seated himself upon a pony similarly painted black, Shri-Vajra rode to Lhasa with an iron bow and arrows in hand. When he entered the city he found the king before the old Rdo-ring pillar in front of Rjo-khang reading the edict inscribed thereon. Shri Vajra pretended to salute him. "If a tyrannous king is to be disposed of, this is the way to do it", with these words he shot an arrow right through his heart. The arrow went home and king died on the spot. The last words that escaped his lips were: "Why was I not killed three years back in which case I could not possibly have committed such enormities, or if I were to meet this fate, why did I not do so three years hence by which time no vestige of Buddhism would have been left by me in the land? Shri Vajra, however took no chance and galloped off, and on emerging out of the city he washed clean his horse of the paint, turned his coat inside out exposing the white interior and calmly rode away. This manetic episode has been made the subject of the famous drama "The Black Hat" which is frequently staged in Tibet.

The dynasty of Srong-btsan ruled for 272 years with undiminished power, prestige and vigour for seven generations, though surrounded by the powerful Chinese, Islamic and Indian empires, a distinction of which scarcely fell to the lot of any known dynasty in the civilised world. Its end, however, came with the miserable end of Glang-dar-ma who alone broke away from the great tradition of the dynasty and broke the empire as well on the rock of misrule.

The dynasty nominally continued for two more generations. Hodsrun (902-66), son of Glang-dar-ma and his son Hk hor-bacan (966-83) who followed Glang-dar-ma restored Buddhism to favour but it was beyond their power to restore the tottering dynasty to its former position; with the latter the mighty empire crumbled to pieces.

History of Buddhism in Tibet

PART TWO

DIPANKARA PERIOD (1042-1102 AC)

THE DYNASTY OF Srong-btsan maintained its extensive empire continuously for two hundred and seventy-five years. Side by side with its intense devotion to Buddhism, the dynasty was able to turn out brave soldiers and capable rulers for seven generations. Such instances are rare. The Imperial Guptas in India were great warriors, but they flourished for two centuries only. The Moghal emperors could not remain visible beyond five generations. In Tibet, after Dar-ma the decline set in rapidly, and even that which was left by the time of Dpal-h' khor-ba-can (d. 983 AC) was lost afterwards. Tibet was soon after divided into several principalities. As a result of the revolution, Khri-skyid-lde-ni-ma-mgon, the second son of Hkhor-ba-can was compelled to leave Lhasa. He proceeded towards Western Tibet (Mna-ris) with a hundred cavaliers. There he carved out a small kingdom for himself. In the Horse-year (982) he built the red-palace at Ra-la. In the Sheep-year he caused to be constructed another palace called Ce-so-rgya-ri. About the same time, Dge-blsan, the ruler of Spud-raris called him to his capital and offered his principality and the hand of his daughter Hbro-dza-hkhor-skyon. Ni-ma-mgon now became the lord of Mna-ris-skor-gsum (Ladakh, Gu-ge, Spud-raris). Towards the close of his rule he divided his territories amongst his three sons Dpal-gyi-lde (Ladakh), Bra-sis-lde pmgon (Spud-raris) and Lde-geug-mgon (Shng-Shun-or-Gao-ge). Lde-geug-mgon's eldest son Hikhor-lde transferred the responsibility of ruling his kingdom to his younger brother Sron-lde, and himself alongwith his two sons, Naga-raja and Deva-raja, became a monk.

Published in the journal of Benaras Hindu University in 1937.

In the first part of the 11th century several impurities crept into Buddhism in Tibet. The monks wilfully neglected the study of the sacred books, and the prescribed rules of conduct. The tantrics had come to consider the enjoyment of wine and women as meritorious. The heads of the monasteries lived in pomp and declared themselves *Sthaviras* and *Arahats*. Hkhor-lde, who was named Yeshod (Light of Knowledge) after he had taken the religious order, studied the scriptures himself. He seems to have been a clear thinker. He questioned¹ the contents of the tantras as being the spoken words of the Buddha. He saw clearly that the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet was an everlasting work. For remedying the deplorable state of Buddhism, he considered the study of religious treatises essential. To this end he selected twenty-one youngmen, including Rin-chen-btsa-n-po (958-1055) and Legspahis-ses-rab, and sent them to Kashmir for study. For these young residents of a comparatively colder country like the region of the Mansarovar even Kashmir proved hot, and consequently, all of them except the above-named two, died. On his return Rin-chen-btsa-n-po translated several works of philosophy and tantra into Tibetan with the help of Pandits Sraddhakara Varma, Padmakara Gupta, Buddha Srisanta, Buddhapala, Kamala Gupta and others. It was he who translated *Hastavala-Prakarana* of Aryadeva, *Abhisamayalankaraloka* of Haribhadra, *Astangahrdayasamhita* of Nagarjuna, *Caturviparyayakatha* of Matricheta, *Saptagunaparivarnanakatha* of Vasubandhu, *Sumagadhavadana*, etc. Later on when Dipankara Srijnana (982-1054) reached Tibet, he helped him in the translation of several other works.

Rin-chen-btsa-n-po constructed many beautiful temples in Guge (Shan-shun), Spi-ti and Ladakh, of which several are still extant. The Sum-da and A-ltse temples of Ladakh and Lhalun temple of Spi-ti are among these. All the frescoes in these temples were finished by Indian artists. They are best available specimens of Indian art of the 10th century. But it is regrettable that they are all being destroyed for want of proper care.

Srijnana: When the royal monk Jnanaprabha noticed that nineteen of the twenty-one young men sent out by him to Kashmir

1. *Bu-ston*, part II, p 212.

did not return alive, he concluded that instead of sending students to India, it would be better to invite a good Indian scholar who would be able to purge Buddhism in Tibet. He had learnt that in the great monastery of Vikramasila, there was such a monk-scholar Srijnana. Messengers were sent to invite him but he did not come, and the king thought of sending others on this errand. But, in the meantime, when Jnanaprabha had gone to his frontier province for collecting some gold, he was caught by the neighbouring king. His nephew Byan-chng-hod (Bodhiprabha) sought to get him released by paying ransom money, but Jnanaprabha said that the same amount could better be employed in inviting some other scholar from India. During the 11th century the University of Vikramasila in the district of Bhagalpore was a great centre of learning in Northern India. Chandragupta Vikramaditya, when heir-apparent, had the charge of the administration of Campa. He had built some temples on the two hillocks of Sultanganj. This place came to be known as Vikramasila after him. Afterwards the Pala king Maharaja Dharmapala (769-807) created a beautiful monastery at this charming place on the bank of the Ganges, and in course of time this grew up into the great University of Vikramasila.

At a short distance from this monastery lay Vikramapura, modern Bhagalpore, the capital of a feudal king where Dipankara Srijnana, the younger son of the aforementioned king resided. Dipankara Srijnana had studied not only at Nalanda, Rajagriha, Vikramasila and Vajrasana (Bodh Gaya), but also in the distant Suvarna Dvipa (Sumatra). After completing his studies he had started lecturing as one of the eight erudite professors of Vikramasila. At first he did not accept the invitation of Jnanaprabha, but he readily agreed to go to Tibet when he learnt of the great sacrifice of the former from the messengers sent to him by the royal mendicant Bodhiprabha.

In 1042 (the Water-horse-year) he reached Mn-a-ris. There he was warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. First he stayed at the Tho-glin, (Shan-Shun) monastery situated to the west of the Mansarovar. Here he wrote his famous work *Bodhipathapradipa*. In 1044 he went to Spu-rns. Here he met Hbromston and Rgyal-vai-ahyn-gnas (1003-64). The followers (disciples of Hbromston) of Dipankara Atisa became known by the

name of Bka-dam-pa. Chodstson-Kha-pa (1357-1419) was also connected with the same Bka-dam-pa sect, and it was for this reason that his followers Dge-lugas-pa call themselves the new Bka-dam-pa.

Dipankara Srijnana spent the last thirteen years of his life in the work of religious reformation as also in that of translation in Tibet. From Mna-ris he went to the provinces of Gtsan and Dbus. In 1047 he reached Bsam-yas. There he was struck with admiration at the height of the collection of books piled in front of his eyes. In that collection he came suddenly across some such rare works as were not easily available even in the biggest libraries of India. In 1050 he reached Yer-pa and there in 1051 (the Iron-rabbit-year) he completed his commentary on *Kalacakra*. In 1054 when he had covered half a day's march on his way from Lhasa, he breathed his last at Sne-than at the age of seventy-three.

His chief helpers in the work of translation were Tshulkhriims-rgyal-ba of Nag-tsho, Rin-chen-bdsan-po, Dge-bahiblo-gros and Sakya-blo-gros. The number of his translated and revised works is more than a hundred. It was he who with the help of two interpreters, Tson-sen of Rgya and Nag-tsho, translated the great philosophical work *Madhyamikaratnapradipa* and its commentary.

Pandit Somanatha: Before the arrival of Dipankara Srijnana in Tibet, the Kashmir scholar Pandit Somanatha had reached Tibet (Gyar-cho). With the help of Dzla-vahi-hod-ser he translated *Kalacakra-iyotisa* into Tibetan. By then a systematic arrangement of the sixty years of the cycle of Jupiter had been newly brought into vogue. A cycle of sixty years is called Rab-hbyuz in Tibetan. This is also the first year of the sixth Samvatsara Cakra. Laksmikara and Dhanasri Candra-rahula had also accompanied Somanatha on his travels in Tibet.²

The great mystic philosopher Avadhutipa (Adwayavajra or Maitripa) was the preceptor of Dipankara Srijnana. The Kayastha Pandit Gayadhara of Vaisali (Basarh, district Muzaffarpore) was also his disciple. He went to Tibet on the invitation of (Hbrog-mi) Sakya-ye-shis (d. 1074 AC), and there in course of his five years' stay he rendered several of the tantra treatises into

2. *Hbrug-pa-Chos-Hbyu*, pp 152 Ka, 198 Kha and 251 Kha.

Tibetan. At the time of his departure Hbrog-mi made him a present of 500 tolas of gold. He was a poet of Hindi. His son Tibrupa was supposed to be a perfect Siddha. Pandit Gayadhara translated *Buddhakapatatantra* with the help of Dzla-bahi-hod-ser and *Vajradakatantra* with that of Lha-bcas of Hgos-Khug-pa.

In the days of Jnanaprabha Lo-tsa-ba Padmaruci invited two Indian-pandits named Smrtijnanakirti and Suksmadirgha for the work of translation. Lo-tsa-ba died of cholera in Nepal but they reached Tibet. They had not acquired even an ordinary knowledge of the language by that time. Pandit Suksmadirgha began to reside near (Ron-pa) the chos-bdzan of Ron; Smrtijnanakirti preferred to work as a shepherd to seeking shelter under others. It is not known for how many years he lived the shepherd's life in Rta-nag in tents made of the hair of black yak in the manner of the Vyan nomads of Tibet. Smrtijnana probably was a zealous religious reformer.

One great benefit engendered by this sheep-rearing was that he acquired a very good knowledge of the Tibetan language. There were few scholars like Smrtijnana and Vibhutipandra who translated Indian works into Tibetan without the help of Lo-tsa-ba. Afterwards on the invitation of Spyal-se-tsat Bsod-rnams-rgyal-tshan, he went to Sman-lun and taught him Buddhist works. Thereupon he went to Wtams (Eastern Tibet, and there in Hdan-long-than he established a college for the study of *Abhidharmakosa*. He translated into Tibetan several of the works written by himself as for example, *Catuspithatika*, *Vacanamu-kha*, etc.

Shi-ba-hod (brother of Jnanaprabha) Lha-lde was the son of King Sron-lde. Of his three sons the eldest, Hod-lde, became king and the remaining two Byan-chub-hod and Shi-ba-hod, became monks. How Byan-chub-hod had invited Dipankara Sri-jnana to purge the faith has already been described. King Hod-lde got several works translated through Pandit Sunayasri whom he called from India. Shi-ba-hod (Santiprabha) was himself a profound scholar. While he got several works translated through Sujana Mantrakalasa and Gunakara Candra himself rendered the translation of the highly philosophical work *Tattvasangraha* of Acharya Santaraksita.

Tse-lde: After Hod-lde his son Tse-lde became the ruler of the

province of Western Tibet (Shan-Shun, Spudrans). In 1076 he established a good institution for teaching, and the same year he sent (Rno-ga) Blo-ldan Shes-rah, (1059-1108) to Kashmir for study. Till 1092 Rno-ga studied several treatises of Nyaya with Pandit Parahitabhadra Bhavyaraja and of Yogacara with the Brahmin gentleman Amaragomin and others. Pandit Bhavyaraja lived at Cakradharapur to the east of Anupamanagara (Pravarapur-Srinagara). At this very place Rno-ga again rendered the translation of the famous Nyaya treatise *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakirti. With the assistance of Pandit Parahitabhadra he also translated *Pramanaviniscaya* and *Nyayavindu* of Dharma-kirti. After Tse-lde his son King Dwan-lde and his grandson King Vrakashis-lde continued to patronise the work of Rno-ga. On his return to Tibet from Kashmir after seventeen years, Rno-ga worked hard for fourteen years. While residing at his place, he did the work of translation with Pandits Atuladasa, Sumati-kirti, Amaracandra and Kumarakalasa. He finished the rendering in Tibetan of the well-known *Manjusri-Mulakalpa* in collaboration with Pandit Kumarakalasa. He died in 1118. In 1092 Pandit Siddha came to Tibet. He had reached Glan-skor through Yanam via Nepal. While there he helped in the translation of certain works. He was a perfect traveller. In 1101 he went out to China and came back to Tibet again in 1113. He inaugurated the Shi-vyur sect which had once a great influence in Tibet.

In this very period there flourished another great Lo-tsa-ba (translator) of Pa-tshab called Ni-ma-grags (Ravikirti). He was born in 1055, the year in which the great Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-bstan-po died. He studied in Kashmir for thirteen years and enriched his own literature with the translations of the serious philosophical works like the *Catuhstakasastra* of Aryadeva, *Madhyamakavatarabhasya* of Candrakirti, *Abhidharmakosatika* and *Laksananusarini* of Purnavardhana, and *Mulamadhyakavrtti* and *Prasannapada* of Candrakirti. Kamakavarma, Tilakalasa and some others were his helpers in this work.

(*Mar-pa*) Chos-kyi-blo-gros: He was the disciple of Naropa (d. 1040) and had visited India thrice, where he had dwelt and died. He did less of translation work, but he and his disciples like Mila-Rasap (1040-1123) by the force of their peculiar ac-

tions, became the virtual representatives of as many as eighty-four Siddhas in Tibet. Mila-Rasap was not only the greatest poet of Tibet, but his life, devoid of interest and artificiality as it was, brought to bear a tremendous influence upon the mode of living of the people of that place during those eight centuries. The followers of Mar-pa, Mi-la are called Dkar-rgyud-pa. The great monasteries of Dbags-po, Hbri-gon-pa, Phag-grub-pa, Hbrug-pa, Stag-lun-pa and Skar-ma-pa belong to Dkar-rgyud-pa school of Tibet. The hierarch Skar-ma-bak-si-shos-hzin (1204-83) had become the preceptor of the Mongol emperor owing to his supposed mystic powers. The monasteries of Phag-grub and Hbri-gon ruled over Central Tibet for many years.

SA-SKYA PERIOD (1102-1376 AC)

(Hkhon) Dkon-Rgyal (1034-1102): A religious noble named Dkon-Rgyal established (1074) the Sa-skya monastery in the province of Gtsan. Although this monastery was started on a very small scale, yet it did immense service later on to the cause of Buddhism. The hierarchs of this monastery extended their influence over regions even outside Tibet, for example, China and Mongolia. During the reign of Chingiz Khan (Cin-hir-Khan) in the year 1222 a hierarch (Sa-pan) of this monastery introduced Buddhism in Mongolia for the first time.

(Hkhon) Dkon-Rgyal was succeeded by Ba-ri-lo-tsa-ba (d. 1111) as his heir-apparent. Ba-ri had lived for a long time with Professor Abhayakara Gupta of Vairasana or Diamond-Throne (Bodh Gaya). Abhayakara Gupta was born in Iharakhanda (the vicinity of Vaidyanath) of a Ksatriya father and a Brahmin mother.³ He was a good scholar of the sastras. Later on he was initiated in the duties and secrets of a Siddha by Sauripa, the disciple of Avadhutipa. He was the preceptor of Ramapala (1057-1102), the king of Magadha. He was acknowledged to be a profound scholar of both the Nalanda and Taxila Universities. He passed away in the year 1125.

Ba-ri nominated Kun-dgah-snin-po (1092-1158), the son of Dkon-Rgyal, the founder of the monastery, as his hierarch. After him his son Grags-pa-rgyal-tshan (1147-1216) became the abbot of the monastery. He was a good scholar. He had rendered

3. *Rin-chen-byun-gnas-glam*, p 47b.

the translations of Nyayamukha of Dinnaga and some tantras like the Candamaharosana etc.

(Khro-phu) Vyams-pa-dpal (1173) also flourished during this very period. He took Mitrayogi⁴ (Jaganmitrananda), the preceptor of Jayachand, the Gahadwada king, to Tibet in 1198. He translated the Caturangadharmacarya of Mitrayogi. He invited Pandit Buddhasri from Kashmir in 1200 and with his help he translated Prajnapradipa, the commentary on Abhisamayalan-kara. It was at his invitation that Sakya Sri Bhadra, the last primate and the chief of Vikramasila visited Tibet.

Sakya Sri Bhadra: He was born in Kashmir in 1127. Bodhi Gaya, Nalanda and Vikramasila were the living centres of the Buddhist world of the day. Hence he also went to Magadha. Sukhasri was his preceptor. Ravigupta, Candragupta, Vikhyata-deva (small Vajrasaniya), Vinayasri Abhayakirti and Ravisri-jnana were his teachers. That he was a profound scholar of his age is evident from the fact that he was the preceptor of the king of Magadha and the chief leader of the great monastery at Vikramasila. After the destruction of Nalanda and Vikramasila by Muhammad-bin-Bakhtyar, he shifted to Jagattala⁵ district (Bankura in Bengal). While he was living in Nepal with nine pandits, including Vibhutipandra of Jagattala, Danasila, Sanghasri (Nepalese) and Sugatasri, he met with Khro-Phu-lotsa-ba. He came over to Tibet at the latter's request in 1200 and lived there for ten years. He did not translate any work, and of his own works too few have been translated. This shows that despite his great scholarship, he was not quite versed in penmanship. After he reached Sa-skya, Kun-dga-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), who was the son and successor of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan who was the son of the head of the monastery, became his monk-disciple. He studied several terse works of Nyaya under his supervision. Byan-chup-dpal, Dge-bahi-dpal and several others

4. He was born in Radh (Western Bengal). He was initiated by Lalitavajra, the disciple of Siddha Tilopa. Later on he became the chief of Udantapuri monastery (modern Bihar Shareef), Maharaja Jayacanda of Kasi was his disciple (Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1925, pp 4-30).

5. It was established by Maharaja Rampala (1057-1102 AD), the King of Magadha, during the 7th year of his reign. Stan-hgyur, Colphon of the Astasahasrika Tika.

also became disciples of Sakya Sri Bhadra. For his great influence after the Sakya sect, his previous connection with Vikramasila was also responsible. After staying there for ten years Sakya Sri Bhadra returned to his own country Kashmir in 1213, and after twelve years in 1225 he died at the ripe age of ninety-eight. His followers Vibhuticaṇḍra, Dāṇḍasīla and others stayed in Tibet, and Vibhuticaṇḍra obtained such a command over the Tibetan language that he translated several works without the help of a lo-tsa-ba.

Hierarch Kun-dgah-rgyal-mtshan (1216-51): He was one of those four religious preceptors in Tibet who did stupendous work for the spread of Buddhist faith. According to the Tibetan historians Chingiz Khan (b. 1162) became the emperor of China in 1194. In 1207 the whole of Tibet except the province of Minag passed under his sovereignty. While Chingiz Khan was carrying on his expeditions of bloodshed, Kun-dgah-rgyal-mtshan, the Saskya pandit resolved to carry on his propagation of the Buddhist faith and in 1226 he sent missionaries to Mongolia. The Mongol general Chi-gya-do-ti attacked the central Tibet and massacred five hundred monks of the Sa-skyā monastery. He also burnt the monasteries of Ra-sgrēn and Rgyal-Khan (Rgyal-plha-Khalg) in Phin-pa district to the north of Lhasa. In 1243 the heirarch sent his two nephews Hphags-pa and Phyagna to Mongolia for the work of propagation. In 1246 he himself saw Go-tan, the Mongol emperor of China, and became his preceptor next year. The emperor offered the provinces of Dhus and Gtsan, and henceforth was inaugurated the rule of the ecclesiastical heirarchs in Tibet which endures to this day. He continued the work of propagation till 1250 when he died at Sprulsdē in Mongolia. He was the greatest and the most versatile scholar as also a poet of no mean merit. His work *Sa-skyā-bśad* and its Niti precepts are still taught as text-books to students in Tibet.

Heirarch Hphags-pa (1251-80): He was born in 1234. How he came to Tibet has already been described. After the death of his uncle he succeeded to the headship of the monastery. The rule that one member of the family becomes a monk was in vogue in the Sa-skyā monastery. It is this member who later on became the head of the monastery. The uncle of Hphags-pa became the preceptor of the Prince Kubla Khan, the heir-appar-

ent of the Chinese empire. He remained in China and Mongolia till 1265. In 1269 he went to Mongolia again and in 1280 he passed away.

Skar-ma-bak-si-chos-hzin (1204-83): He was a contemporary of *Hphags-pa* (Sa-skya). Although in learning he was in no way equal to the Sa-skya, yet he was considered to be a saint endowed with miraculous powers. Mun-Kho, the Mongol emperor of China, witnessed his saintliness and in 1256 he appointed him his preceptor. While the heads of the Sa-skya-pa and Dkar-rgyud-pa, were busy enhancing their influence by ardent religious propaganda through learning and mystic powers, Rnig-ma-pa, the oldest religious sect of Tibet, which was the follower of Acharya Santarakṣita was deteriorating. This sect succumbed to the influence of ghost worship, magic and incantations of the old Bon religion, and grew more devoted to sorcery and gross superstitions. The religious heads of this sect wrote several books full of superstitious ideas and ascribed them to Buddha, Padmāsambhava or to some old great scholar and professed to have excavated them out of the earth. Gter-ston and Sa-dban, the heirs of Rnig-ma, dug out such spurious works in 1118 and 1256 respectively.

After the death of Skar-ma-bak-si none of his capable disciples were selected, but a small boy named Ran-hbyun-rdo-rje (b. 1284) was recognised as his incarnation and succeeded him. Although this was not altogether a new occurrence and there had been a few similar examples before, yet in consequence of this there followed quite a throng of incarnated Lamas. Following this action of the Skar-ma, Hbri-gun-pa, Hbrug-pa and other followers of Dkar-rgyud-pa adopted this system. Later on the followers of Tson-kha-pa followed the same principle in the selection of Dalai Lama (Rgyal-ba-rin-po-che) and Tashi Lama (Pan-Chen-rin-po-che) and thus it is that incarnated Lamas are found in small as well as large monasteries all over Tibet. The reason for the prevalence of this system is that during the boyhood of the prospective religious head some selfish opportunists get the chance of taking over the possession and management of the entire monastery which becomes the personal property of the parents and relatives of thus incarnated Lama. As a result of this system the importance of learning and merit as the

criterion of fitness to succeed to the headship of the monasteries vanished altogether, and consequently incapable and unworthy persons began to occupy these offices.

In the 12th century hundreds of Hindi couplets and sayings of the eighty-four Siddhas were translated into Tibetan. At this very time (Shonston) Rdo-rje-rgyal (d. 1177?) with the help of Pandit Laksmikara completed the Tibetan translation of Kavyadarsa of Dandi, Nagananda of Harsavardhana and Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata of Ksemendra. Now when the government came into the hands of the monasteries, they also began to treat upon the same path as their predecessors. In 1552 the Sa-skyas took possession of the thirteen provinces of Tibet. In 1285 the authorities of Abri-gon set their rival monastery of Bya-yul on fire. In 1290 the Sa-skyas looted Abri-gon.

(Bu-ston) Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364): With the close of the thirteenth century Buddhism disappeared from the Buddhist centres in India. Now Tibet had no opportunity of exchanging ideas with the living Buddhist India. In Tibet also the age of rivalry among the powerful monasteries had commenced. The work of systematic compilation of all the Indian works translated till then into Tibetan had not yet been done hence no one had the knowledge of all the translated treatises nor were these available together at one place. At such a time was (Bu-ston) Rin-chen-grub born in 1290. He joined the Sha-lu monastery as a monk. He was one of the greatest Tibetan scholars of all ages. In the beginning he worked as a teacher in the Sa-skye monastery, which gave him an opportunity of acquainting himself with the great library there, although he translated only a few works like Kalapadhatukaya of Durga Singh and Tyadyan-taprakriya of Harsakirti. He employed himself in a very important work of collecting all the translated works up to his time and systematically compiling them in two great collections, viz., the Ska-hgyur and Stan-hgyur. Of these Ska-hgyur contains those works which are commonly believed to be the words spoken by the Buddha (Buddha-Vacana). In the Tibetan language the word 'ska' means 'word' (on Buddha), 'stan', the 'sastras', and 'hgyur', translation. The Stan-hgyur embodies works on philosophy, logic, poetry, medicine, astrology and mystic practices along with the commentaries of the works collec-

ted in the *Ska-hgyur* and those in itself of acaryas, other than Buddha. He got these compilations written under his own supervision and divided them into several volumes on a fixed line. There is also a catalogue of books appended to it. Its original copy is still preserved in the Sha-lu monastery, situated at a distance of two days journey from Gyantse. Bu-ston himself wrote more than fifty works, one of which contains a glorious account of the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet (completed in 1322). With the death of this scholar in 1364 closes an important epoch in the history of Buddhism in Tibet.

Towards the close of the Sa-skya period there flourished some other learned translators like (Yar-luns) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Byan-chup-tse-mo (1303), who rendered the translations of the *Lokananda* of Candragomin and *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa.

TSON-KHA-PA PERIOD (1376-1664 AC)

Seven years before the death of Bu-ston (1351) a boy of extra-ordinary talents called Blo-bsan-grags-pa (Sumatikirti) more popularly known as Tson-kha-pa was born in the village Tson-kha of the province of Am-do in Northern Tibet. This is a small province near the boundary of Mongolia on the way to Lhasa which it takes months to cross. This place was inhabited by backward nomads before the birth of Tson-kha-pa. At the age of seven (1363) he became a novice under the guidance of Ndon-rin-pa and studied there till the age of fifteen. Afterwards he sought the help of better teachers for specialised study. And so in 1372 he went to Central Tibet.

At the age of nineteen he completed his first work in 1376. He studied philosophy at the feet of (Re-mdah-pa) Gshon-nu-blo-gros. In his study of the Vinaya his preceptor was (Dnarston) Rgya-mtsho-rin-chen, the disciple of Bu-ston. Tson-kha-pa was immensely influenced by the work of Bu-ston and in fact he was greatly encouraged by the work of Bu-ston in the achievement of such a great object. He regretted that he did not get an opportunity of studying at the feet of Bu-ston. He learnt many useful lessons from all the three institutions, viz., Sa-skya-pa, Dkar-rgyud-pa and Bkha-dam-pa. The followers of Tson-kha-pa considered themselves neo-Bkha-dam-pas and styled themselves as such. Judging from the free will with which

these Bkah-dam-pa monasteries became converts to Dge-ugs-pa. (the sect of Tson-kha-pa), their new style was not questionable.

About two years before the birth of Tson-kha-pa (1304) (Si-tu) Byan-chup-rgyan (b.1303) of Phag-grub monastery established his sovereignty on the entire province of Gtsan. In 1349 he annexed the province of Dbus also to his territories. Thus when Tson-kha-pa began his work, a firm government had already been established in Central Tibet. But the religious condition was far from satisfactory. The well-known scholars had passed away one after another, and the ancient seats of learning had lost their glory. Although Mtshan-nid-pa (philosopher) and Bkah-dam-pa were still ~~burning the light of knowledge and renunciation yet that light was in fact hidden in the caves and the obscure corners of the country.~~ In Tson-kha-pa there was a happy combination of learning and renunciation and of intellect and mental contemplation. But over and above this he was inspired by a zeal to reform corrupt religion. A scholar, an orator and a writer that he was, he had besides the charm of attracting capable persons to him. No Tibetan preceptor could draw so many capable disciples as he. ~~All the achievements of Bu-ston were one man's work.~~ Tson-kha-pa led the life of student till 1395. In 1396 he set himself to the removal of the corruptions in Buddhism, which was his life-mission. He realised that the ~~superstitions of the people could not be removed so long as they continued to be uneducated, and so he set himself to teaching them the principles of religion and philosophy.~~ This work became identical with that of Mtsan-nid-pa and thus in course of some time all the monasteries of Mtshan-nid-pa joined the Dge-lugs-pa sect. In 1396 he established the University of Gnal. In 1405 he constructed an assembly-hall (Smon-lam-chen-po) in Lhasa, and that very year saw the establishment of the great monastery of Dgah-ldan at a place which is at a distance of two days journey from Lhasa. The great monastery of Hbras-spun (~~De-pun, Dhanyakataka~~) was established by his disciple Jam-dbyans (1378-1444) in 1416. ~~Sakya-ye-ses~~, another disciple, established the great monastery of Se-ra in 1419. This very year Tson-kha-pa died at Dgah-ldan. Later on his disciples Dge-hdun-grub, the first Dalai Lama (1391-1474) and (Smad) Ses-rab-bsan (1395-1457) established the great monasteries of Bhira-sis-lhun-po (1447) in the

province of Gtsan and Chah-mdo in that of Khams (1437) respectively.

In addition to this work for the study of the scriptures and philosophy Tson-kha-pa's work in the field of propagation of the monastic rules was no less. It was as a result of this work that his followers came to be called by the term Gde-lugs-pa (the observers of the monastic rules). He selected the yellow colour for the head of the monks and prescribed the same colour for the caps to be worn on special occasions. His disciples consequently came to be called the 'Yellow-capped Lamas'. In Tibet where there was an epidemic of incarnations; he introduced the system of selection of the worthiest disciple for succession which still endures as far as the succession to his office is concerned. The office to Tson-kha-pa is occupied by one of the worthiest persons of his sect and is called Dgah-ldan-khri-pa. But later, his followers also fell to the charm of incarnations and enunciated the system of appointing incarnations to the offices of his chief disciples. Today the number of incarnated Lamas is the greatest in the Dge-lugs-pa sect.

Mkhas-grub (1385-1438): The disciple of Tson-kha-pa, who subsequently became the third head of the Dgah-ldan monastery, was most learned among his disciples. He wrote several works and zealously carried on the work of his preceptor.

Pandit Vanaratna, (1384-1468): Pandit Vanaratna was the last Indian monk who came to Tibet and worked for Buddhism and translated works. He was born in a Ksatriya family in the eastern country (Bengal?). The name of his preceptor was Buddha-Ghosa. At the age of twenty he went to Ceylon and there he became a monk under Acarya Dharmakirti.⁶ After studying there for six years he returned to Magadha via Sri Dhanyakataka. There he studied the Kalapa grammar with Harihara Pandita. After that he reached Nepal at the end of long travels. There also he studied with Pandit Silasagara for sometime and then came to Tibet in 1453. At Lhasa and Yar-luns he translated several tantric works. On his return to Nepal he stayed at the Santipuri monastery (Svayambhu Caitya). He came to Tibet for the second time on the invitation of king

6. Perhaps the royal preceptor Dharmakirti, the author of the *Nikaya-sangraha* in Sinhalese.

(Si-tu) Rab-bartan. During the time of the Tibetan King Grags-hbyun-gnas, he reached his capital Rtse-than. After staying there for a considerable time he went back to Nepal where he died in 1468. Among the works translated by him there are some couplets and sayings of the Siddhas also. (Hgos-yid-bsan-tsa) Gshon-nu-dpal (b. 1392), (Stag) Ses-rab-rin-chen (b. 1450) and Ses-rab-rgyal (b. 1423), were his helping lo-tsa-ba (interpreters).

Lama Taranatha (b. 1575): His real name was (Rgyal-khan-pa) Kun-dgah Snynpa. Although he was not so deeply studied as Bu-ston or Tson-kha-pa, yet he had acquired a good knowledge of everything by patiently listening to the discourses of the learned. He wrote several books one of which deals with the history of Buddhism in India. Taranatha is very famous for the fact that his book was the first to get translated into a European language. Of his translated works Anubhutiśvarupacarya's Sarasvata was also one which was rendered by him with the help of Pandit Krishnabhadra of Kuruksetra.

From the latter half of the 15th to the end of the 16th century was an age of monastic rivalry in Tibet as it was all over the world. In Tibet this rivalry was an armed one. In 1435 monks of the Phag-grub monastery snatched away the province of Gtsan from the hands of Rin-spun monastery. In 1480 Shvamar Lama (Chos-grogs-ye-ses, d. 1434?) took the army of Tsan and captured the forts of Snehurzon and Spyid-shen. In the same year the monks of Gsan-phu and Skar-ma insulted the monks of Sa-skya-pa and Hbras-Spun on the eve of the great annual festival at Lhasa. Uptil 1518, (ie so long as the strength of Gtsan) did not decay altogether, the monks of Hbras-Spun and Se-ra could get no place at the great annual festival (Smom lam-chen-po) alluded to above. In 1575 Rin-Spun (Gtsan) came once more to Dbus and plundered it. In 1604 the Skar-ma's army demolished the fort of Skya-sod. In 1610 the Gtsan army once more invaded the province of Dbus. In 1612 the heirarch of Skar became the ruler of the whole of Gtsan. In 1618 the Gtsan army attacked Dbus and massacred thousands of monks of the Hbras-Spun University. The above account indicates that by that time the monasteries of Tibet, far from being the place of secluded contemplation for the learned and renouncers of the world, had been turned into the battle-fields for men-at-

arms. The same drama was enacted in India and Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. In India during those centuries the followers of saints and recluses were organised on army lines and there occurred actual scenes of serious bloodshed on occasions of meetings and fairs. The same story was repeated in Europe by the Pope and his followers. Still we must admit to the credit of the followers of Tson-kha-pa that till 1642 they never cared to assume the powers of the state when the reigns of the government were offered to them by their Mongol disciples on conquering the whole of Tibet. They were constantly engaged in the propagation of their faith and the spread of learning. Their monasteries of Hbras-spun, Sera-dgah-ldan and Bkra-sislhun-po had been changed into universities to which monks from far and near—Mongolia and Siberia—began to flock. The zealous work of these universities attracted a number of benefactors who grew more and more eager to help them. Distinct hostels of these universities were allotted to the students of distinct countries, and stipends were awarded to deserving scholars. Poverty was no handicap to students. At the close of their scholastic career these graduates returned to their respective countries and there propagated their love and reverence to their Alma Mater and the Dge-lugs-pa sect. Not only this, the leaders of the Dge-lugs sect continued the work of the religious propagation of the Sa-skya heirarch in Mongolia. In 1577 the third Dalai Lama, Bsod-rnams-rgya-mtsho, himself went to Mongolia for religious preachings, and the Mongol chief, Altan-han, welcomed him in 1578. By this time several Mongol graduates of the Dge-lugs-pa University had spread themselves in their own country. Next year the Dalai Lama established the monastery of Theg-chen-chos-hkhor-glin there. In course of his visit he inspected the monasteries of Am-do, Kham and other places and established some new monasteries. In 1588 the third Dalai Lama breathed his last in Mongolia. The fourth Dalai Lama Yontan-rgya-mtsho was born in a Mongolian family in the year 1589. These facts established a close relationship between the Mongol tribe and Dge-lugs-pa sect. This was the reason why when the power greedy Tibetan monasteries getting jealous of the influence of Dge-lugs-pa, began to obstruct the path of Dge-lugs-pa, the brave Mongolian soldiers resolved to pour their blood in the cause of its protection. In 1618 the mass-

acre of thousands of monks of Hbras-spun by the Gtsan army became intolerable to the Mongols. No sooner had they received the news than a tide of anger swept over the whole of Mongolia against the authorities of the Gtsan monasteries. By that time the glory of the Mongol hero Go-sri-han (1582-1654) had spread throughout the whole of Mongolia. He organised a huge force of Mongolian soldiers and set out towards the Central Tibet. When people of Gtsan got this news they also advanced to fight against them. In 1620 both the armies met at Rgyan-thangan. Many Tibetan soldiers were killed, but the battle did not prove decisive that year. Next year (1629) another battle was fought at that very place, and the Gtsan army was completely routed. Still the kingdom was left in the hands of Dge-grags-pa on certain conditions. But the policy of persecution of *Dge-lugs-pa* did not change, rather the opponents became all the more adamant in their anger when they saw its growing number of supporters. In 1637 Gu-sri-han fought and defeated the Khal-kha (Mongol) tribe which was inimical to the Dge-lugs-pa near the Ko-konor lake and reached as far as the province of Dbus in which lies Lhasa, and then returned to Ko-konor. In 1639 there was another battle with Be-ri, the ruler of Khan who was a follower of the Bon (Animistic) religion against Buddhism. He was dethroned and imprisoned, and the next year he was sentenced to death for his tyrannies. The wickedness of Gtsan was still continuing. So in 1742 Gu-sri-han attacked Gtsan, captured the king and brought the provinces of Gtsan and Kon-po under his subjection. Gu-sri-han presented the conquered principality to Blo-bsan-rgya-mtsho, the fifth Dalai Lama, and on his behalf he was declared the viceroy of Tibet. Thus in Tibet the rule of the religious preceptors was firmly established which is as firm as ever even today.

(*Rgyal-ba*) Blo-bsan-rgya-mtsho (1617-82): It has already been mentioned that the fourth Dalai Lama belonged to the Mongol tribe. In 1616 after his death the fifth Dalai Lama was considered to be his incarnation. When he was two years only the Gtsan army had killed thousands of monks of Hbras-spun. At the age of six (1622) he was declared the leader of Hbras-spun. When an incarnation alone was considered enough to serve the purpose, where was the necessity of considering the ability and age? In 1638 Bkra-sis-lhun-po Pan chen (Maha-

pandita), Chos-kyirgyal mtshan (1570-1662), the head of the monastery initiated him into the monkhood.

The reason why the Mongol leader instead of conferring the kingdom upon the heirarch Dgah-ldan, the successor of Tson-kha-pa, gave it to Dalai Lama is quite obvious. The third Dalai Lama had visited Mongolia with the idea of propagation and the fourth Dalai Lama was himself a Mongol, and thus they were naturally more acquainted with the Dalai Lamas than others. The Tibetans use the word Rgyal-ba-rin-po-che (Jinaratna) for Dalai Lama. The name Dalai Lama has been given by the Mongols. In the language of the Mongols ta-le is the word for 'ocean'. At the end of the names of all the Dalai Lamas except the first ones, the word Rgya-mtsho (sagara) is added, and so the Mongols began to use the word *ta-le-lama*, of which the corrupt form is Dalai Lama. The Tashi-Lama (bkra-sis) is called Pan-chen-rin-po-che (Mahapanditaratna) in Tibetan. There was no system of incarnations before Pan-chen-chos-kyirgyal-mtshan, the preceptor of Sumatisagara, the fifth Dalai Lama. But his respect was considerably enhanced because of his office of the preceptor of the fifth Dalai Lama. After his death the system of incarnations was resorted to for succession. The present Tashi-Lama (Pan-chen) Chos-kyi-ni-ma (Dharma-surya) is his fifth incarnation. The fifth Dalai Lama, Sumatisagara, was installed to that office on account of his being considered an incarnation. But still he was a clever ruler. It was during his rule that in 1644 Sun-ti-chi-the-tsun, the Manchu leader, dethroned the Ming dynasty and himself became the emperor. Next year in 1645 the Dalai Lama constructed the great palace of Po-ta-la. In 1652 he went to China on the invitation of the emperor of China, who honoured him with the title of Tai-sri. All this was meant to gain the favour of the Mongol nation on his side as the Dalai Lama had a great influence over them. After the death of Gu-sri-han in 1654, his son Ta-yan-han became the king of Tibet. He was succeeded after his death by his son Ta-le-han. The fifth Dalai Lama had also much zeal for work of the faith and while returning from China he went several provinces for this purpose. He sent a promising worker named Phun-chogs-thun-grub to India to study Sanskrit. With the help of Pandit Gokulnatha Misra and Pandit Balabhadra, he translated the Prakriya-Kaumudi of Ramacandra (1658) and the

Sarasvata in 1665 into Tibetan. He also translated a work on medicine with the help of Gautama Bharati, Omkara Bharati and Uttama Giri (1664). He was the last translator of Tibet. The death of the fifth Ta-le Lama occurred in 1682.

THE LAST PERIOD (1665 AC)

Tshans-dbyans-rgya-mtsho (1683-1705): After the death of fifth Dalai Lama Brahmaghosasagara was accepted as his incarnation. He was luxury loving and as matter of fact he was not born to be a monk. In 1702, he gave up his monk-life which created a great stir among the people and the result was that Lha-bsan defeated the government forces in 1705 and declared himself the king of Tibet. The condition would have been worse, but while the sixth Dalai Lama, Brahmaghosasagara was going to China he died on his way near the Ko-konor lake. In the mean time another man named Pad-dkar-hzin-ye-ses-rgya-mtsho (Pundarikadharajnanasagara) was going to be declared as the fifth Dalai Lama. But there was no need for it since the death of Brahmaghosa had occurred. In 1708 Skal-bsan-rgya-mtsho was born and he was declared the sixth Dalai Lama. When the names of Lha-bsan's becoming the independent king of Tibet reached Mongolia, preparations for another expedition began to be made. And in 1717 the Chun-gar army (the left branch of the Mongol tribe Khal-khe started for Tibet. In the manner of a terrible storm it swept away all before it. Lha-bsan met it on the northern battle-field of Lhasa and was killed in the battle that was fought. Rnin-ma monks had sided with Lha-bsan and so the Chun-gar army burnt and destroyed all their monasteries. The Rsam-rgyal glin, Rdorje-brag and Smin-grol-glin monasteries were looted. As a ramnant of this deed hundreds of ruins can be seen today in Tibet. Thus with the help of the Mongols the Dalai Lama got the sovereignty. The seventh Dalai Lama, Skal-bsan-rgya-mtsho (Bhadrasagara), was free from worldly attachment and saintly. He devoted more time to the pursuit of knowledge and to meditation than to the affairs of government. During his period the ministers once revolted in 1727 and (Pho-la-the-je) Bsod-mas-stob rgyas, otherwise called king Mi-dban, defeated them with the help of Mnah-ris and Gtsan armies. For

this service Mi-dban was installed as the viceroy of Tibet. It was this Mi-dban who got the two great collections of works called the Ska-hgyur and Stan-hgyur carved on blockprint and placed them in the Snarthan monastery. Several works printed by this type are extant in the libraries of the world today.

During the time of the seventh Dalai Lama the Roman Catholic capuchin fathers went to Lhasa and carried on the work of the Christian mission till 1708. Earlier in 1626 the Portuguese Jesuite Padre Ambreda had entered Tibet, but he could not reach Lhasa or Bkra-sis-lhun-po.

During the time of the eighth Dalai Lama no important event took place. The ninth (11th years), tenth (23 years), eleventh (17 years) and the twelfth (20 years) Dalai Lama died premature deaths. The popular belief is that the regents killed them in order to retain the power with themselves. The thirteenth Dalai Lama Thub-stan-rgya-mtsho (Munisasanasagara, b. 1876), however, was endowed with a long life. The news of his death has been communicated only lately.

In 1779 AC the third Tashi Lama, Dpal-ldan-ye-ses (b. 1740) went to Peking on the invitation of the emperor of China and was warmly welcomed. He died of small-pox there.

In 1840 some Roman Catholic bishops had come and stayed at Lhasa for about two months.

In 1904 Lord Curzon sent an armed embassy to Tibet for securing consent to certain commercial conditions and for checking the Russian influence there. Lhasa came in the hands of the English, but later on the Russian and British governments reached a mutual understanding according to which Tibet was left as before and the policy of non-intervention was resumed. Afterwards due to some differences between Tibet and China the Dalai Lama had to go to India, but in 1912 the Tibetan army got an opportunity during the Chinese revolution to drive away the Chinese chiefs from Tibet, and eventually the Dalai Lama got back his possessions.

After the fifth Dalai Lama the ardour of religious world was damped and no work of importance in the field of religion was accomplished. Depun, Se-ra and other big Dge-lugs-pa monasteries, however, are still great educational institutions where several works are still attempted and finished as usual. Yet in the field of religion a new life is badly wanting.

Tibetan Studies

TIBETAN IS ONE of the 400 different dialects coming under the Sino-Tibetan group of languages, and being nearest to the Burmese, belongs to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan. In spite of the large area of Tibet which till recently was an unknown country, the number of the Tibetan-speaking people is less than three millions, including even those who live in Nepal and the Indian Himalayas. The cultural value of the Tibetan language is great, inasmuch as thousands of very important Indian works, of which the originals have been lost, are still preserved only in Tibetan. In Tibet proper, Tibetan is spoken by 1.2 million people, while 1.6 million Tibetans live in Eastern Tibet (Kham) and Chinghai-Kansu provinces. Among the five main Tibetan dialects, viz., (i) Standard (Central) Tibetan, (ii) Amdo (Tangut), (iii) Kham, (iv) Ladakh and (v) Balti, the Amdo dialect was the first to be used for literary purposes, although for a very limited scope. The Tanguts in Amdo were the first to open the door for feudalism, while it was left to the Tibetans of the lower Tsang-po valley to establish a full-fledged feudal monarchy.

The message of the Shakyamuni reached Tibet, a next-door neighbour to India, only after 640 AD, although it had reached China in 80, Korea in 372 and even Japan in 538, the reason for this being that the Tibetan people were then still in a nomadic tribal stage. It was the young conqueror of Tsethang, Srong-tsan-sgam-po, who first united the whole of the Tibetan speaking people, and like Chengiz Khan in a later age, he led his mighty hordes to sweep to victorious marches, sub-

This article was published in the *Indian Literature* (New Delhi) in April-September 1980.

during the whole of the Himalayas and the region, which at one time was called Sinkiang, and even the middle region of the Hoang-Ho valley. As the government of such vast territories could not be conducted by oral orders, Srong-tsan was forced to adopt a script for his language, which he obtained from India. Coming in contact with the well-developed feudal societies of China and India, especially after his marriages with the Chinese and Nepalese princesses, Buddhism came to be introduced into Tibet in about 640 AD. His minister Thon-mi wrote the first grammar of the Tibetan language. Tibetan scholars of the later "Dharmakosha" and the Chinese monk Mahadeva were among the first to translate small but important Buddhist works into Tibetan. It was Srong-tsan's successors, who were all Chinese from the mother's side, who encouraged and patronised this activity.

The work of translation and the building of Buddhist Viharas (Gompas) was begun earnestly after a century after the demise of Srong-tsan (650), during the time of Khri-Srong-de-tsan (755-80), and it reached its peak at the time of the seventh emperor of the dynasty, Khri-De-tsan-po, also known as Sad-na-Leg (804-16), when systematic translations of hundreds of important philosophical and canonical works were done from Sanskrit into Tibetan. During this period, Lhasa and Bsam-yas were the centres, where the Panditas and Lo-tsa-ba's (i.e., Tibetan translators) resided. In the second period of this activity, Western Tibet (Ngari) was the centre, where the descendants of Srong-tsan had established themselves in a small kingdom. The third and the last period (1102-1376) was that of Sa-Skya (1200-1300). Its importance lies not only in the translation activity, but also in the fact, that during this time thousands of palm-leaf manuscript of Sanskrit works came to Tibet, hundreds of which have still survived in the monasteries of Sa-Skya, Ngor, Sha-lu and Pos-Khang. With the end of this period the most glorious chapter in the history of these translations came to an end. Lama Taranatha (born in 1537 AD), an elder contemporary of Tulsidas (1623), made only a pilgrimage to India. The last of the Lo-tsa-ba's (translators) was Nga-bang-phun-tshog-lhum-grub, who was sent to India for Sanskrit studies by the fifth Dalai Lama, Lob-sang-rgya-mtsho (1617-82). Lhum-grub translated *Prakriyakaumudi* (a commentary on Panini by Ramachan-

dra) into Tibetan with the help of Gokulanatha and Balabhadra Mishra in 1658. He also translated the *Saraswata* grammar in 1665.

EXTANT WORKS

There are 4464 Indian works translated into Tibetan, of which the total number of stanzas in the *anustubh* metre comes to about 2.57 millions, as follows:

No	Subject	Tohoku No	Books	Volumes	Metres
(1) <i>Bkah-hgyur</i> :					
1.	Vinaya	1-7	7	13	1,00,000
2.	Prajnaparamita	8-43	36	21	1,82,000
3.	Vaipulya Sutras	44	1	4	36,000
4.	Ratnakuta Sutras	45-93	49	6	30,000
5.	Other Sutras	94-359	260	32	1,82,000
6.	Tantras	360-827	469	20	1,43,000
7.	Other Tantras	828-844	17	3	22,000
8.	Kalacakra	845	1	1	1000
9.	Dharanis	846-1108	263	2	13,000
Total			1103	102	7,09,000

No	Subject	Tohoku No	Books	Volumes	Metres
(2) <i>Bstan-hgyur</i> :					
1.	Stotras	1109-1179	71	1	6000
2.	Tantra-Tika	1180-3785	2606	78	5,80,000
3.	Prajna-Tika	3786-3823	38	16	1,14,000
4.	Madhyamika	3824-3980	157	17	13,000
5.	Sutra-Tika	3981-4019	39	10	70,000
6.	Vijnana-vada	4020-4085	66	16	1,06,000
7.	Abhidharma-Tika	4086-4103	18	11	79,000
8.	Vinaya-Tika	4104-4149	46	18	1,28,000
9.	Jataka etc.	4150-4202	53	6	4,45,000
10.	Pramana (Logic)	4203-4268	66	20	1,58,000
11.	Grammar, Dictionaries	4269-4305	37	4	32,000
12.	Medicine	4306-4327	22	6	47,000
13.	Politics	4328-4345	18	—	7000
14.	Miscellaneous	4346-4464	119	9	83,000
Total			3356	212	18,68,000
Grand Total			4459	314	25,77,000

Indian works, translated into Chinese, are 1467, containing 1,635,000 metres (shlokas).

FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

It has been noted above, that the last contact with India through a translation from Sanskrit was in the year 1665. Already in 1626, the Jesuite monk, Ambreda, had entered Western Tibet; and Catholic fathers were in Lhasa in 1708; but they had gone there with the sole object of converting heathens into faithful Christians. (For them, the enormous and most valuable literature, contained in the *Bkah-hgyur* and the *Bstan-hgyur*, was nothing but mere trash.)

The Mongols, however, had been converted to Buddhism in the thirteenth century; and when, in the sixteenth century, the Russians were trying to expand to the east in the Siberian region, the township of Sibir was captured by the Cossack leader Yermak (in November 1581), who was subsequently drowned in the river Irtysh (on 18 August 1585), the upper part of which was occupied by the Zungar Mongols. For Central Asia, the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth centuries were the Zungar centuries because the Zungars were then spreading from the Altai to the Volga, while during the same time, the Russians were making the whole of Siberia up to the Pacific their own. From time to time there were clashes between the two powers; but China became interested in checking rather the Zungar (Kalmuk) expansion than the other one, and ultimately it was China, that crushed the last nomad empire in 1757.

The second Kalmuk Khan Batur-thaichi (1634-53) was the first to have closer contacts with the Russians in Siberia. He not only united all the Kalmuks into one single state, but it was with his help, that the Khosat Chief Gushi Khan, was able to offer a united Tibet to the fifth Dalai Lama, the first ruling Dalai Lama of Tibet. During this period, the Russian and the Mongol envoys were meeting each other and the Russian and the Mongolian languages were being used for their correspondence. This was the time, when the Russians inspired by Peter the Great had begun to take interest in scientific enquiries. Peter's ambassador, Williamov, gave the Czar's letter to Rab-tan the fifth Khan of the Kalmuks in the spring of 1718. In this very

year, the Russian built the fort of Semi-platinsk on the bank of the Irtysh upon the ruins of a Buddhist monastery. While digging the foundations some religious books were found, which represented the first Tibetan manuscripts ever sent to Europe. In their expansion to the east, the Russians became the overlords of the Buryat (Mongol) territory alongside of the Lake Baikal. The Buryat lamas being well versed in the Tibetan literature, no difficulty was found in deciphering the documents mentioned above, but it took some time before systematic studies could be started. Thus it was in Russia, that modern studies in Tibetan Buddhism and literature began in the middle of the eighteenth century. An excerpt of a letter, received recently from Dr Roerich, throwing some further light on this subject, is reproduced below:

Moscow,
20.2.60

Dear Friend,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th instant. In the XVII century Tibetan was used in diplomatic correspondence between Moscow and West Mongol princes. In the second half of the XVII century Pavel Ivanevich Kulvinsky acted as official interpreter of Mongolian and Tibetan in the Peselsky Prikaz (Foreign Office) in Moscow. Recently a note of Peter the Great to the West Mongol Khan Lobzang was discovered in the State Archives. It is written in Mongolian, but in the Tibetan script. An article on the document by N. P. Shastina and myself will appear in the *Journal of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, III, 1960. The next date is 1722 when Peter-I received the first MSS and xylographs from the ruins of the Abla-yin khiit monastery. The study of Tibetan at the Academy of Sciences began in 1829. The story of Tibetan studies was told by me in the article "Indology in Russia", *Journal of the Great Indian Society*, Vol XII, No 2, July 1945.

The *Bibliotheca Buddhica* is being continued. The first issue, a translation of the Dhammapada by Teporov is ready and will be sent to you for review. The second volume will be a translation of the Jatakamala by Barannikov and Velkova, and the third, Vostrikov's large monograph: "Tibetan Historical Litera-

ture". The scope of the series has been somewhat enlarged. It will now include editions of Pali texts also. At a recent meeting of the Editors' Board great interest was expressed in your plea to edit Sanskrit and Tibetan texts in the series. Please send me your plan. The Abhisamayalamkara was already published. Should we reprint it? The Pramānavartika is also hailed. We must speed it up...

Roerich

EARLY PERIOD (UP TO 1860 AD)

Outside Russia, the first Tibetan book, viz., dictionary of Bhotanta language and a grammar, was published in 1826 at Serampur (Bengal). The Baptist missionary, William Cary (1761-1834) reached India by the end of 1793. Five years later, he and his friend were able to establish a Mission at Serampur (which was then a Danish possession), which adopted printing of religious books as one of the methods of propagating Christianity. The Serampur Mission press was the oldest press to print translations of the Bible in many Indian languages and dialects. Although it was many years since Fredric C. G. Schroeter had compiled a dictionary of the Bhotanta language, it had remained unpublished till Cary took it up for editing and printing it. It was helpful in translating the Bible into Tibetan. The East India Company had then enunciated a forward policy in respect of Tibet, and British emissaries were traversing Tibetan territories including Ladakh. They might have made use of the abovementioned dictionary and grammar, although the general effect of that publication has not been ascertained.

(i) Alexander Csoma de Koros: This great Hungarian savant was the father of modern Tibetology. He came to the east in search of the original home of his people. There was no doubt that the Magyars (Hungarians) had come from the east, but their ancestral identity could not be easily established. Attila's Huns were descendants of ancient Hun nomads, against whom the Chinese built their Great Wall. From his childhood Csoma had heard, that the forefathers of Magyars had come from the east, and yet the modern Hungarian language has the least similarity with the Hunnish language. In their physiognomy also, the present Magyars have no Mongoloid features; they look like any other Balkan people.

In 1819, Csoma decided to go to the east, but wanting to know something about it before he ventured out, he first went to Gottingen in Germany, which was then becoming the centre of studies in Orientology. After some study, he went to Croatia, to Constantinople and lastly to Alexandria (Egypt), where he learnt some Arabic. Then he took the caravan route to Aleppo and Baghdad. In the winter of 1820-21 he was in Teheran, and in January 1822, he crossed the Bamian Pass. Through the Khyber he entered Ranjit Singh's dominion and reached Lahoul in the March of the same year. Now his goal was the Tibetan-speaking Ladakh, which was still independent. There was no difficulty in entering Kashmir, because it was a part of the Sikh kingdom. He reached Leh in the month of June (1822), where he met the famous explorer Moorcraft, who gave him a Tibetan-English dictionary compiled by a Catholic priest a century ago. Encouraged by the hospitality he was receiving, he proceeded to Zanskar, where residing in the Zangla monastery, he studied Tibetan for one year and a half. In 1824, he was in Sabathu near Simla. He heard the fame of Kanam (in Bushahar) and was there in 1827. After an intense study of the Tibetan canons and taking copious notes, he went to Calcutta in 1831, where he wrote his first research paper: (1) *Analysis of Kah-gyur and Stan-gyur*, published in the *Asiatic Researches*. His (2) *Tibetan-English Dictionary* came out in 1834, and (3) *Grammar of the Tibetan Language* was also published in the same year at Calcutta (see: *Indian Art and Letters*, 1945, pp 15-20).

At the age of 58, he set out for Central Tibet, but could not go beyond Darjeeling, where he died on 11 April 1842. Csoma started with the idea of discovering the clue of the Magyar ancestry in Tibetan scriptures, but landed in the science of Tibetology, which was far more captivating to his mind. His work was appreciated in the capital of British India, where he lived for many years a very simple life of a Tibetan monk.

(ii) Iakov Ivanovich Schmidt (1839): Schmidt was the first Russian Tibetologist known to western scholars through the German translation of his books. (1) *Grammatika Tibetaskogo eazyeko*, published in St. Petersburg in 1839 (pp xiii+33); (2) *Tibetisch-Deutsches Worterbuch* (St. Petersburg, 1841, pp

xi+784); *Tibetsko-Russkii slovar* (St. Petersburg, 1843, pp xi+765).

(iii) Brian Houghton Hodgson (1830): In his long sojourn in Nepal, as British Resident, Hodgson collected and wrote many learned articles on the peoples and the countries of the Himalayas. Among his articles is one on "Sifan and Horsok Vocabularies" (*JASB*, 22 (1853), pp 117 ff).

(iv) R. Lepsius (1860): Among German scholars, he was the first pioneer of Tibetan studies in Germany. His article: "Ueber chinesische und tibetische Lautverhältnisse und ueber die Umschrift jener Sprachen" (*BAW*, 1860, pp 449-96).

SECOND PERIOD (1860-1900)

(i) Heinrich August Jaschke: After Csoma this missionary scholar contributed substantially to Tibetan studies. Jaschke and Francke (see no x) were both stationed in Ladakh and they fully utilised their time for Tibetological studies. Like Csoma, Jaschke wrote both a dictionary and a grammar. His Tibetan-English Dictionary is so important that it was reprinted in London in 1934. Some of his other writings are: (1) "Ueber das tibetische Lautsystem", (*BAW*, 1860, pp 257-79); (2) "Ueber die ostliche Aussprache des Tibetischen im Vergleich zu der fruher behandelten Westlinchen" (*BAW*, 1865, pp 441-54); (3) "Ueber die phonetik der tibetischen Sprache" (*BAW*, 1867, pp 148-82); (4) "Handwörterbuch der tibetischen Sprache", (*Gnadau*, 1871-76, pp xx+671); (5) "Tibetan Grammar" (reprinted, Berlin, 1929, pp vi+161).

(ii) A. Schiefner (1877): This Russian scholar worked on various grammatical problems, e.g. (1) "Tibetische Studien", *Bull. Acad.*, St. Petersburg, Vol viii, (1851), Cols. 212-22, 259-72, 292-305, 333-34, 337-52; (2) "Buddistische Triglotte, d.h. Sanskrit-Tibetisch-Mongolisches Worterverzeichins", St. Petersburg, 1859; (3) "Ueber Pluralbezeichnungen im Tibetischen", *Mem. Acad. Sci.*, St. Petersburg VIIe Series, Vol 25 (1877), No 1, pp 5-17.

(iii) Bela Szechenyi (1877): As Csoma's compatriot, he was the last Hungarian Tibetologist of the 19th century. During 1877 and 1880, he published "Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Bela Szechenyi in Ostasien" (Vienna, 1899), pp 420-26. He also compared the data compiled from various

Tangut (i.e. Eastern Tibetan) dialects with words from the vocabularies of Przhevalskii (see below) and Klaproth.

(iv) N. M. Przhevalskii (1880): This greatest Russian explorer of the nineteenth century travelled through central Asia and Tibet. His "Mongolia i Strana Tongutov" is a mine of information on Tanguts (Amdo) and Mongols (New Edition, Moscow, 1946). Further, "Reisen in der Mongolei, im Gebiet der Tanguten und in den Wusten Nord-Tibets" (1881).

(v) Henry Lushington Ramsay (1890): He wrote "Western Tibet: a practical dictionary of the language and customs of the districts included in the Ladak Wazarat" (Lahore, 1890), pp 190.

(vi) Sarat Chandra Das (1896): He travelled in Central Tibet, and with his acute mind contributed many original papers. His: Tibetan-English Dictionary was published in 1902 and is still not superseded. Its photostat copies were published in Peking in 1951.

(vii) Sandor Pongracz (1891): This Hungarian scholar wrote "Tibet-Magyar nyelvtanul manyok", Budapest, 1891.

(viii) S. W. Bushell (1896): The Tangut (Amdo) people who inflicted a severe wound on Chengiz Khan, resulting in his death, had built up a strong state in modern Kansu. Bushell contributed an article on "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tanguts" (*JRAS*, XXX, pp 142 ff).

(ix) Berthold Laufer (1898): This German scholar contributed many articles during the last decade of the 19th century, some of which are (1) "Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft der Tibetanen: Zamatog, (*Munchen Akad. Wiss.*, 1898), pp 519-94; (2) Ueber das Va Zur; Beitrage zur Phonetik und Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache", *WZKM*, XII, (1898), pp 298 ff; XIII (1899), pp 95 ff, 199 ff; (3) "Loan Words in Tibetan", *TP*, Vol 17 (1916), pp 403-552; (4) "Origin of Tibetan Writing", *JAOS*, Vol 38 (1918), pp 34-46.

(x) August Hermann Francke (1898): He was the rightful successor of Jaschke, whose work he continued for many years in Ladakh. He wrote: (1) "Die Respektzprache in Ladaker tibetischen Dialect", *ZDMG*, Vol 52 (1898), pp 275-81; (2) "Sketch of Ladakhi Grammar", *JASB*, Vol 70 (1901), pt i, Extra No 2

pp 63; (3) "Kleine Beiträge zur phonetik und Grammatik des Tibetischen", *ZDMG*, Vol 57 (1903), pp 285-98; (4) "Ladakhi Songs, Leh" (1899-1903); (5) "A Collection of Ladakhi Proverbs", *JASB*, Vol 69 (1900), pp 135-48; (6) "The Ladakhi pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual", *IA*, Vol 30 (1901), pp 131-49 (also songs); (7) "A Ladakhi Bonpo Hymnal, *ibid*, pp 359-64; (8) The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, *JASB*, Vol 2 (n.s.) (1906), pp 467-90; *ibid*, Vol 3 (1907), pp 67-77, 261-319, 321-88; (9) "Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet", *IA*, Vol 38 (1909), pp 57-68; (10) "Wa. tse.i sgruns, Fuchsgeschichten, erzählt von Dkon. mchog bkra. shis, aus Ka. latse", *Asia Major*, Vol 2 (1925), pp 408-32; (11) "Buddhistische Volkslieder aus Ladakh", *Mit Sem. Or. Spr.* Vol 30, pt 1 (1927), pp 111-12 + map, (12) "Tibetische Lieder aus dem Gebiet des ehemaligen West-Tibetischen Königsreiches", *Mitt. Sem Or Spr.*, Vol 34 (1931), pt 1, pp 93-136; (13) "Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler", (hctographed), 1907, pp 23; (14) "Some More Rock Carvings from Lower Ladakh", *IA*, Vol 32 (1903), pp 361-63 + 3 pts; (15) "Similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar-Brahmi Alphabet", *Mem ASBI*, No 3 (1905), pp 43-45 + pts II-VI; (16) "The Kingdom of Gnys. khri. tsan. po., the First King of Tibet", *JASB* (1910), pp 93-99; (17) "Notes on Sir A. Stein's Collection of Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkistan", *JRAS* (1914), pp 37-59; (18) A Language Map of West Tibet, with Notes and Plate", Vol 73 (1904).

(xi) William Woodville Rockhill (1893): American Tibetologist, who travelled in the Khâm (Eastern Tibet) province and wrote "The Land of the Lamas" (New York, 1891).

(xii) Gabriel Deveria (1896): The interest of this French scholar in the Hsi Hsia dynasty is shown by his article: "L'Écriture du Royaume Si-Hia ou Tangout", *Acad. d. inscr. et B.L.*, Paris, 1898. (Vol 2, pt. 1).

(xiii) A. Desgodins (1899): He wrote: *Dictionnaire-Thibet-ain-Latin-Francais*, Hong-Kong (1899), pp 12 + 1091.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Tibetan studies were far advanced. Russian, German, French and English scholars were in the field. Many grammars and dictionaries had been published; but very few competent scholars, except Sarat Chandra Das were able to penetrate the interior Tibetan centres of lear-

ning. Das and a few others did some research in the historical field, but a full and authentic history of Tibet is yet to be written. Professor Wang Sheng-tien (Peking) and his colleagues have now undertaken this work and ere long we hope to get the first complete history of Tibet.

THIRD PERIOD (1900-30)

With the beginning of the present century, the field of Tibetology was enlarged by the discoveries of Tibetan manuscripts at the Tun-huang caves (in Kansu) and other places in Sinkiang (present Uigur autonomous region). Tibetan translations of important Sanskrit works began to be studied by scholars like Stcherbatsky, Sylvain Levi, Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, Tucci, Prazyluski, Poussin. Old masters like Francke and Sarat Chandra Das continued their work. The activities during these 30 years could be easily estimated by the work of the following scholars:

(i) *G. Sandberg* (1902): With A. W. Heyde, he published his *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902).

(ii) *L. D. Barnett* (1903): This octogenarian savant of Indology wrote a preliminary notice of the Tibet MSS in the Stein Collection (*JRAS*, 1903, pp 103/144). In Collaboration with Dr Francke he wrote: "Tibetan Manuscripts and Graffitoes, Discovered by Dr M. A. Stein at Endere" in App. to Stein's *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 1907, pp 548-69).

(iii) *A. Podsnееv* (1908): He wrote on Tibetan Medicine: "Uchebnik Tibetskii meditsiny", Vol I (St. Petersburg, 1908), *Medicine in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese*.

(iv) *A. I. Ivanov* (1909): He studied the Tunguts and wrote: (1) "Zur Kenntniss der Hsi-Hsia Sprache", *Bull. Acad. Sci.*, St. Petersburg (1909), pp 1221-33; (2) "Tungutskii rukopisi iz Khara-Khoto", *Izv. Russk. obschch*, 45 (1909), pp 463-70; (3) "The Language of the Hsi-hsia", *J. Sinological*, 1 (1923), pp 675-86 (in Chinese).

(v) *L. A. Waddell* (1910): He accompanied the British Military Mission to Lahasa and was one of the first Englishmen to see the capital of Lamaism with his own eyes. He published an article on ancient historical edicts at Lhasa, *JRAS* (1910), pp

1247-82. He also wrote a popular book on Lhasa and the British adventure.

(vi) *Lobzang Mingyur* and *E. Decnison Ross* (1911): They published a Matriculation Course in Classical Tibetan (Calcutta, 1911), which show that the British government was encouraging Tibetan studies in the Indian schools.

(vii) *John van Manen* (1919): As secretary of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he was interested in Tibetan Studies, and wrote many articles and a Grammar of Tibetan. One of his articles on Tibetan literature was severely criticised by the brilliant Russian scholar, *Vostrikov*. *Manen* also edited "Minor Tibetan Texts" (*Bibliotheca Indica*), New Series, No 1426, Calcutta, 1919.

(viii) *Kazi Dawa Samdup* (1919): His *English-Tibetan Dictionary* is the only dictionary of its kind.

(ix) *Max Walleser* (1926): This great German Indologist passed away in Heidelberg in 1954. He wrote: *Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen*, Heidelberg, 1926.

(x) *Nicolas Nevsky* (1926): He is known for his "A Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan transcriptions" (*Res. Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*), No 4 (1926),—Rev. by *Paul Pelliot*, *TP*, 24, (1926), pp 300-403.

(xi) *Boris Vladimirtsov* (1926): A brilliant pupil of *Stcherbatsky*, died very early as the youngest academician. He wrote: (1) *O Tibetsko Mongolskom slovare Li sihi. gur khan* (*Doklady Akademii Nauk USSR*, Ser. B Leningard, 1926, pp 27-30); (2) *Sravhitelhaia grammatika Mongolskogo pismennago iazyka i Khalkhaskogo* (*Vostochnogo Instituta*, 1929).

(xii) *E. Obermiller* (1927): Along with *Vostrikov* and *Vladimirtsov*, he was a pupil of *Academician Stcherbatsky*. He translated *Bu-Ston's History of Buddhism* (Heidelberg) and published his "Indices Verborum Sanskrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanskrit to the *Nyayabindu* of *Dharmakirti* and the *Nyayabindutika* of *Dharmottara*" (*Bible Buddhica*, 1927-28). He also died young.

(xiii) *F. W. Thomas* (1927): The great Indologist and Tibetologist wrote the following among others: (1) "Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan", (*JRAS*, 1927), pp 51-85, 807-44, (1928), pp 63-98, 555-95, (1930), pp 47-94, 251-300, (1931), pp 807-36, (1933), pp 379-400, 537-68; (2) "Law of Theft

in Chinese Kansu, 9th to 10th Century Fragments from Tun-huang", (*Zeits. f. Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol 50, pt 3 (1936), pp 275-87; (3) "Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan", pt 2: Documents (London, 1951), pp 470 (Rev. by R. A. Stein) A. 240/1952/79; (4) With L. Giles "A Tibeto-Chinese World and Phrase Book", *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), pp 753-69 + 2 pls; (5) With G.L.M. Clauson, "A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing", *JRAS* (1926), pp 508-26; (6) "A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters", *JRAS* (1927), pp 281-306; (7) "A Chinese Mahayana Catechism in Tibetan Characters", *JRAS* (1929), pp 37-76; (8) Nam J.A., "Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Boardland", (London, 1948), pp xi + 469 + 10 pls + map; (9) "The Language of Ancient Khotan", *AM* 2 (1925), pp 251-71; (10) "A New Central Asian Language", *JRAS* (1926), pp 312-13; (11) Two Languages from Central Asia, *JRAS* (1926), pp 505-07; (12) "The Zen-Zun Language", *JRAS* (1933), pp 405-10.

(xiv) *Stuart N. Wolfenden* (1938): He has written on Tibetan, Burmese and Chinese languages: (1) "Significance of Early Tibetan World Forms", *JRAS* (1928), pp 896-99 (gnyi-sun); (2) "Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology", (London, 1929); (3) "On the Tibetan Transcription of Si-hia words", *JRAS* (1931), pp 47-52; (4) On the prefixes and consonantal finals of Si-hia, as evidenced by their Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions, *JRAS* (1934); (5) "Specimen of a Khambu Dialect from Dilpa, Nepal", *JRAS* (1933), pp 845-56; (6) "Notes on the Gyaron Dialect of Eastern Tibet", *TP*, Vol 32 (1936), pp 167-204; (7) "On Certain Alterations between Dental Finals in Tibetan and Chinese", *JRAS* (1936), pp 401-16; (8) "Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the World-families of Tibetan, brygyad and Chinese pwat = eight", *TP*, Vol 34 (1939), pp 165-73.

(xv) *Johannes Rahder* (1928): He edited the *Dasabhumika-Sutra* and also a Glossary of the same, *Buddhica*, Documents, Vol I (Paris, 1928), pp vii + 202.

(xvi) *Enga Teramoto* (1929): The Japanese scholar, who wrote: (1) *Chibetto-go Bumpa* (Tibetan Grammar in Japanese), 1929; (2) *Dokoshu Jitsungu Chitbetto Buntan* (Practical Tibetan Grammar), 1940.

(xvii) *Johnnes Schubert* (1928): He wrote in German the

“Tibetische National-Grammatik”, *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.* 31 (1928), 1-59, 32 (1929), pp 1-54.

(xviii) *Jacques Bacot* (1928): The greatest French Tibetologist, who wrote: (1) *Les Mo-so. Ethnographie des Mo-so Leur religions, Leur Language at leur Ecriture*, (Leiden, 1913); (2) *Les Slokas Grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhota, avec leurs Commentaires, Annales du Musee Guimet, Bibl. D'Etudes*, Vol 37 (Paris, 1928); (3) *Grammaire due tibetain litteraire*, 2 Vols (Paris, 1948); (4) *La structure de tibetaine*, *Conferences Inst. Lang. Univ. Paris*, li (1953), pp 115-35.

✓ THE PRESENT PERIOD (1930 ff.)

At present the scope of Tibetan studies has been broadened by scholars of the east and the west, who are taking part in it. After the second world war, Chinese scholars and their Tibetan compatriots are engaged in different aspects of Tibetan studies. Tibetan being the medium of state and higher studies, hundreds of books on different subjects are appearing. Many dailies and weeklies are enlightening the opinion among the masses.

(i) *Jury (George de) Roerik* (1933): Dr Roerik is (was) perhaps the greatest Tibetologist of the world today. After spending more than two decades in India, he has now returned to his fatherland and is working in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, USSR (Moscow). His *Text Book of Colloquial Tibetan* (Dialect of Central Tibet) was published in 1957 (Calcutta) by the government of West Bengal. His translation of “Debter ngon-po” (The Blue Annals) was published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. He also compiled *Tibetan-Russian Dictionary*. He along with me has also translated half of the Pramanavartika. Some of his other works are: (1) “Modern Tibetan Phonetics, with Special Reference to the Dialect of Central Tibet”, *JASB* (1933), pp 285-312; (2) “The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul”, (Naggar, 1933); (3) “Le parler de L’amdo” (*Serie Orientale*, Roma, 1958), xviii (v), p 159. The great savant is no more. He died on 21 May 1960 in Moscow at the age of 56. He was born in St. Petersburg in 1904.

(ii) *Giuseppe Tucci* (1931): The Italian Indo-Tibetologist, who has travelled much in Central and Western Tibet and written many works on the subject. Among his writings: “Tibetan

Folksongs from the District of Gyantse", *Artibus Asiae* (1949).
 "The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings" (1950).

(iii) *Jean Przyluski* (1933): This great French Indologist was also interested in Tibetology.

(iv) *Marcelle Lalou* (1933): This gifted French lady is working on Tibetology since the last three decades. She published: (1) "Le da-drag Tibetan", *BSO*, 7 (1933), pp 87-89 (in collaboration with Przyluski); (2) "La langue Nam", *JA* (1939); (3) "Manuel elementaire de Tibetan classique", Paris (1950); (4) "Inventaires des manuscrits Tibetaïnes de Touenhouang conserve a la Bibliotheque Nationale", 2 Vols (Paris, 1934, 1950).

(v) *Li Fang-kuei* (1933): The Chinese scholar, who has done great work on Tibetan, Chinese and Thai languages (1) "Certain Phonetic Influences of the Tibetan Prefixes upon Root-initials", *Acad. Sin.*, 4 (1933), pp 135-57; (2) "The Methodology of Sino-Tibetan Linguistics", *J. Sinolog.*, St. 7, No 2 (1951), pp 165-75; (3) "The Inscription of Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-22", *TP*, 44 (1956).

(vi) *A. E. Read* (1934): He has worked on Balti, the Tibetan dialect spoken by a Muslim people, living in the West of Ladakh; (1) *Balti Grammar*, London (1934), pp iv+108; (2) "Balti Proverbs", *BSOS*, 7 (1934), pp 499-502.

(vii) *C. A. Bell* (1920): Bell was the British political agent to Tibet. He wrote two books for the use of the British officials: (1) *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, (Calcutta 1939), pp 184; (2) *English-Tibetan Coll. Dictionary*, pp xxxvi+562.

(viii) *Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya* (1933): One of the greatest Sanskrit savants of the century (died 1959), who wrote and edited several Tibetan Sanskrit works, like (1) *Bhotaparakasa* (containing elements of grammar, texts, Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan vocabularies), Calcutta (1939), pp lix+578; (2) *Kavyadarsa* (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, critically edited), Calcutta (1939), pp xxiv+286; (3) *Nagananda* (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts), Calcutta (1957), pp xiii+258.

✓ (ix) *R. Sankrityayan* (1934): He wrote: (1) In collaboration with Tse. rtan. Phun. tshogs, "Sgra.la.Hjug.pa" (Grammar), Calcutta (1932), pp 2+58; (2) *Tibetan Primer* (in Tibetan), Calcutta (1932), pp 2+22; (3) *Tibetan Readers, I, II, III* (in Tibetan),

Kashmir (Lithoprint); (4) Hetubindu by Dharmakirti, restored into Sanskrit from Tibetan, Baroda (1949), Appendix, pp 52-72; (5) Sambandhapariksha of Dharmakirti, restored into Sanskrit from Tibetan, Patna (1963), in the Introduction to the Pramanavartikabhāṣya. He also translated half of Pramanavartika with Dr Koerich.

(x) Hakuju Ui (1934): Japanese Indologist, who in collaboration with Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura and Tokan Tada, compiled: A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Tohoku University, 1934), 2 Vols, pp 2+701+3+124.

(xi) A. N. Koerber (1935): An American Tibetologist, who wrote: Morphology of the Tibetan Language, Los Angeles, San Francisco (1935), pp xii+230.

(xii) Ekai Kawaguchi (1936): He wrote Chibetto Buntan (Tibetan Grammar in Japanese), 1936.

(xiii) Nishio Kyoo (1936): He wrote a Tibetan Index to the Mahavyutpatti with its Sanskrit equivalents, Kyoto, 1936, pp 338+7.

(xiv) Lagis Ligeti (1936): This Hungarian scholar has contributed greatly to Tibetan studies: (1) "Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia", (Korosi Csoma Archivumki, 1936), pp 76-103; (2) "Les voyelles langues en ture", JA, 230 (1938), pp 177-204; (3) "Le chinois en ecriture Phags. pa" (Actes 21^e Congr. Or., Paris 1949), pp 262; (4) "Le Subhashitara tnanidhi" (Mongolian and Tibetan), pt 7 (Bibliotheca Orient Hungaricae), 6, Budapest (1948), pp xiii+124, (pt 2 under preparation in 1957); (5) "Notes sur le colophon du yitukun Sudur", (Asiatica)—(phonetics of 14th century Tibetan and Chinese transcriptions of some Mongolian personal names), pp 397-404; (6) "Mots de civilization de Hau-te Asie en transcription Chinoise" (Acta Ori. Hung. I, 1950), pp 141-88.

(xv) Robert Shaper (1938): A versatile scholar of many languages and comparative phonetics, who wrote: (1) "The Link between Burmese and Lolo" (Sino-Tibetica, 2, Berkeley, 1938), pp 8-10; (2) "Phunoi and Akha tones", Sino Tibetica, 4 (1938), pp 29-38; (3) "Prefix n.ing in Tibetan", Sino Tibetica, 1 (1938), pp x, 7; (4) "Prefix in Tibetan", *ibid*, pp 11-28; (5) "The Vocalism of Sino-Tibetan", JAOS, 60 (1940), pp 302-37; 61 (1941), pp 18-

31; (6) "L'annamite et le Tibeto-Birman", *BEEFO*, 40 (1940), pp 439-42; (7) with Paul K. Benedict, "Sino-Tibetan Linguistics" Berkeley (1941), in 41 Vols (Typescript), 8 copies, of which one each in the Library of Congress (Washington, DC), the Library of the University of California (Berkeley), etc.; (8) "Prefixes In Tibeto- Burmic", *HJAS*, 9 (1945), pp 45-50; (9) "Hruso", *BSOAS*, 12 (1947), pp 148-96; (10) "Le Vietnamien et le Tibeto-birman" (*Dan Viet nam*), I (1948), pp 1-10; (11) "Phonetique comparee de quelques prefixes simples en Sino-Tibetan", *PSL*, 46 (1950), pp 144-71; (12) "The Initials of Sino-Tibetan", *JAVS*, 70 (1950), pp 96-103; (13) "Classification of Some Languages of the Himalayas", *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, 34 (1950), pp 192-214; (14) "Studies in the Morphology of Bodic Verbs", *BSVAS*, 13 (1951), pp 702-24; 1017-31; (15) "Phonetique historique des langues 10-10", *TP*, 41 (1952), pp 191-229; (16) "Newari and Sino-Tibetan", (*Studia Linguistica*), 6 (London, 1952), pp 92-104; (17) "Phonetik der alt-kuki-Mundarten", *ZDMG*, 102 (1952), pp 262-74; (18) "Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan", *Intern. J. Amer. Ling.*, 18 (1952), pp 12-14; (19) "Etudes sur l'austroasien", *BSL*, 48 (1952), pt 2, *Parallels avec le Sino-Tibetain*, pp 133-58; (20) "Classification of the Northernmost Naga Languages", *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, 34 (1953), pt 3, pp 225-64; (21) "East-Himalayish", *BSOAS*, 15 (1953), pp 356-74; (22) "Ethnography of Ancient India" (Wiesbaden, 1954).

(xvi) *Walter Simon* (1929): The Sinologist, who also wrote some articles on Tibetan: (1) "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen", *ein Versuch, Mitt Sem. Or. Spr.*, 32 (1929), pt 1, pp 157-228; (2) "Certain Tibetan Suffixes and Their Combinations", *HJAS* (1940), pp 372-91; (3) "Tibetan dan. cin kyan, yin and ham", *BSOAS*, 10 (1942); (4) "The Range of Sound Alterations in Tibetan World families", *AM*, Vol 5 (1949), pp 3-15.

(xvii) *Rolf Stein* (1934): He wrote: "Trente-trois fiches de divination tibetaïnes", *HJAS*, 4 (1939), pp 297-371+8 pls; (2) "Notes d'etymologic tibetaïne", *BEEFO*, 41 (1941), fasc., 2, pp 203-31.

(xviii) *R. A. Stein* (1955): He wrote: "L'epopce Tibetaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling", *Bibl. de Etudes du Musee Guimet*, Paris, 1955.

(xix) *H. E. Richardson* (1949): He was the last British politi-

cal officer to be sent to Tibet, who was in charge of the Indian Mission at Lhasa for some time after independence: (1) In collaboration with Sir Gould the former political agent, he wrote *Tibetan Verb Roots*, 1943, pp xvi+447; (2) "A Ninth Century Inscription from Kong-Po", *JRAS* (1954), pp 153-73.

(xx) *Uruwashi Yamamoto* (1949): He wrote: "Tobo Chibet-togo Jeter" (*Dictionary of Eastern Tibetan*), Peking, 1944.

(xxi) *A. V. Marakuev* (1945): Russian author, wrote "Vrede-nie v Tibetskuiu toponimiku" (Introduction to Tibetan Toponymics), Tomsk (1945), pp 19+map.

(xxii) *Constantin Regamev* (1947): A Sinologue, who wrote: "Consideration sur la systema morphologique du Tibetain litteraire", *Cah. F. de Saussure*, 6 (1947), pp 26-46.

(xxiii) *Geze Uray* (1949): This worthy countryman of Csoma wrote: (1) "Kelet-Tibet nyelvgarasainak osztalyozase" (classification of the dialects of Eastern Tibet), Budapest (1949), pp 27; (2) "A Tibetain Diminutive Suffix", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 2 (1952); (3) Some Problems of the Ancient Tibetain Verbal Morphology—Methodological Observations on Recent Studies, *Acta Linguistica*, 3 (Budapest, 1953), pp 37-62; (4) "Duplication, Elimination and Triplication in Tibetan", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 4 (1954), pp 177-241; (5) "The Suffix—c in Tibetan", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 3 (1955), pp 229-44; (6) "On the Tibetan letters ba and wa, a contribution to the origin and history of the Tibetan alphabet", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 5 (1955), pp 101-22+2 pls; (7) "The Four Horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 10 (1960), pp 31-57.

(xxiv) *Johannes Nobel* (1950): He wrote: (1) *Suvarnaprabhasottamasutra* (2 Vols), including *Worterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanskrit*, Leiden (1950), pp 234; (2) *Udrayana, Konig von Roruka, die Tibetische Uebersetzung des Sanskrit Textes*, with Vol 2: *Worterbuch*, (Wiesbaden 1955).

(xxv) *dGes. Bshes. Chos. grags* (1950): Born in Buryat (Siberia) he resided for more than forty years in Lhasa (Sera), where he obtained the degree of Doctor (Lha. ram pa). He visited India twice with me. His Dictionary: (*Brda. dag. ming. tsig. gsal, ba Tibetan into Tibetan*) was published in 2 Vols (Lhasa, 1950). The same was again published with addition of Chinese in Peking (1956), pp 19+971.

(xxvi) Pavel Poncha (1950): He wrote: "Le vers Tibétain", *Arch. Orient.*, 18, pt 4 (1950), pp 188-235 (1954), pp 563-85.

(xxvii) M. Hermanns (1952): He wrote: "Tibetische Dialekte von. Amdo", *Anthropos*, Vol 47 (1952), pp 193-202.

(xxviii) Friedrich Weller (1952): This German Indologist published "Tibetisch—Sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryavatara", pt i, *Abh. Leipzig. Akad. Wiss.*, 46, No 3 (1952), p 304.

(xxix) Jozsef Verkerdi (1952): This Hungarian Tibetologist wrote: "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody", *Acta Or. Hung.*, 2 (1952), pp 221-34 (with Russian summary).

(xxx) Nils Simonsson (1953): He criticises Poncha and Verkerdi in his article: "Zur into-tibetischen Text-kritik", *Orientalia Suecana*, pp 129-52.

(xxxi) V. S. Vorobiev Desiatovskii (1953): He wrote in Russian: (1) "Kollektsii Tibetskiki dokumentov na dereve", *sobran-naia S. E. Malovym* (Collection of Tibetan documents on wood, collected by S. E. Malov), *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta vostokovedennia, Akademiia Nauk*, 6 (1953), pp 167-75; (2) "Tibetskii dokument na dereve raimona ozera Lob-nor", (*Epigrafika Vostoka*), 7 (1953), pp 70-76 and 8 (1953), pp 68-73; (3) "Tiketskii dokument na dereve os raimona ozera Lob. nor", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 10 (1955), pp 68-72+pl.

(xxxii) R. K. Sprigg (1954) wrote: (1) "Verbal Phrases in Lhasa Tibetan", *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), pp 134-56, 320-50, 566 ff; (2) "The Tonal System of Tibetan (Lhasa dialect) and the nominal phrase", *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), pp 133-53.

(xxxiii) Z. I. Gorbachev (1954): He wrote: "Tangutskie rukopisii skilografy" (Instituta Vostokovedenia Akademia Nauk SSSR, *Uchenya Zapiski*), 9 (1954), pp 60-89.

(xxxiv) John L. Mish (1954): Wrote *Supplement of Readings to Jaeschke's Tibetan Grammar, with Vocabulary*, New York (1954), pp 126.

(xxxv) *Mi. rigs. dpe. bskrun. khan* (Peking) is a government publication concern, which has published many hundred Tibetan books, some of which are: (1) *Tse. snad, gsar, pai. bsgrigs*, parts I, II, III, IV; (2) *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* (by Ge. she. Chos. Grags), *Mi. dmans dpe. skrun. khan* (Peking) has also published many Tibetan books.

(xxxvi) *Tsè. rtan. shab. drum.* (1957): Wrote: (1) *Dag. yig. Thon. miidgons rgyan* (A handy Tibetan into Tibetan Diction-

ary), published by Mi dmans. dpe. skrun, khan (Peking 1957), pp 3+357; (2) *A Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, Peking, 1957, pp 5+448.

Tibet is no more a sealed country now. It was no doubt a good thing that it had remained a forbidden territory in the world for a long time, because it could thus preserve its century-old art treasures and precious literary works in the ancient monasteries. It is truly difficult to believe the existence of many wagon-loads of these valuable treasures, unless one has seen them with one's own eyes. The Yha khang. chen. mo of Sa skya alone can fill more than three dozen wagons of a goods train with its manuscripts. There are other temples, which contain wagon-loads of Tibetan manuscripts, some of which could found to be Indian manuscripts written on palm-leaves. Ngor, Sha-lu Narthang, Pos-Khang are other monasteries which have a large collection of manuscripts. More than two dozen ancient monasteries are real treasure-houses, half a dozen of them being in Phon. Po. Reding has got many dozens of Indian and Nepalese paintings and many wooden and bronze images originally taken from India are still preserved in the above monasteries. The Tibetans have entered the modern age, and in the time to come, the Tibetan scholars will be mainly responsible for revealing to the world at large, the treasures which lie concealed in the country.

The writer is greatly indebted to the authors of *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Wiesbaden, 1957).

Life of Acharya Dipankara Srijnana

TWO INDIAN PANDITS who are greatly respected by the Tibetans and are well-known throughout Tibet, are Acharya Santarakshita (650-750 AD) and Acharya Dipankara Srijnana. Both were members of the royal family of Sahor.¹ About the time of the coming of the Mohammedans, a part of Bhagalpur district—where the great Vihara of Vikramasila was situated—was known as the country of Sahor. It was included in the empire of great Palas. King Kalyana-sri, the father of Dipankara—a vassal of the Pala emperor—ruled this principality in the latter half of the 10th century. In the palace of the Golden Flag situated in the capital city of Vikrampur, Queen Prabhavati, in the Tibetan water-male-horse year (982 AD) gave birth to a child. This was the second son of King Kalyana-sri, and he was named Chandragarbha. He had an elder brother Padmagarbha, and afterwards

This article was published in the *Buddhist Annual* (Ceylon) in 1932.

1. As to the identity of this place, scholars hold different views. Some says it is in Bengal; but as the capital of the small principality of Sahor lay in the south and not very far from the famous Vihara of Vikramasila, it must have been located in the neighbourhood of Vikramasila. Up till now all the scholars, who have ever tried to identify Vikramasila, have looked for some place in the district of Bhagalpur (Bihar); and according to data provided by Tibetan sources, it ought to be there. The most widely accepted theory is that identifying it with Pathar-ghat (24 miles east of Bhagalpur—ancient Champa—and about 4 miles north of Kahalgaoon on the right bank of the Ganges). But as the summit of the hills is not broad enough for a big monastery like Vikramasila, and as almost all the remains, on and near the hill, are Brahmanic, it is very difficult to locate it there. Not very far from Pathar-ghat, there are the vast ruins of Anti-chak, where some stupa-like mounds and many rectangular Pariyena-like areas are still to be found. The place is full of bricks; but the Buddhist images at this place are not so numerous as to make this choice more probable.

a younger brother Sri-garbha. A few months after the birth of Chandragarbha, the king and the queen took him to the Vikramasila Vihara which was situated towards the north and was not very far from the capital, in order to worship the Buddha and the Bhikshu-Sangha. There astrologers and diviners made many auspicious prophecies about the boy. At the early age of three he was placed under some able tutors, and by the age of eleven he had mastered writing grammar and mathematics.

After finishing his elementary education, the Prince Chandragarbha wanted to become a monk, and devoted all his time to study. One day when he was taking an excursion in the hilly forest of Sahor, he heard that the great grammarian and scholar Saint Jetari lived near by in a small cottage. The prince went to pay his homage to the saint. The saint asked in curt language, ^{संक्षिप्त, सारं} as was his wont and according to the usage of the great Siddhas: ^{अन्यस्त} "Who are you?" The prince replied, "I am the son of the king of this country." Jetari, who was apparently not pleased with this egoistic remark, said to him: "We have neither master, nor slave here; if you are the son of the lord of this land, go away then." The prince knew all about the great Jetari; so he showed him great respect and explained everything, telling him that he wanted to live the life of a monk. Then Jetari advised him to go to Nalanda.

According to monastic rules, no one can become a Samanera (novice) or a Bhikshu without the permission of his parents; and for Chandragarbha it was not easy to get the required permission of his parents. But as "where there is a will there is a way", at the end he was successful in getting permission. Prince Chandragarbha soon left for Nalanda with a retinue.

On his way to Nalanda, he went to see the king of Nalanda (? the Pala King Vigrahapala II, 948-74 AD). The king received the prince of Sahor with great honour, and asked him "Why do you come here, leaving the great Vihara of Vikramasila which is so close to your place?" The prince in answer mentioned the great sanctity and the great fame of Nalanda. When he had reached Nalanda (994), he first went to pay his homage to his future preceptor Sthavira Bodhibhadra. At that time he was not yet twelve years old, so he could only become a novice. Acharya Bodhibhadra gave him the monk's robe, and gave him the name Dipankara Srijnana.

In those days, Bodhibhadra's teacher, Avadhutpada (also known by the name of Advaya-Vajra, Avadhutipa, Matrigupta and Matripa) was living in a lonely place in the south of Kala-sila in Raja-griha. Like Jetari he was a great scholar as well as a saint. Bodhibhadra took him to Avadhutpada, and with his permission left Dipankara there. From the age of twelve up till eighteen (994-1000) Dipankara remained in Raja-griha where he studied many sastras under his master.

As soon as Dipankara reached the age of eighteen (1000) he got permission from his teacher, and went to Vikramasila for the study of tantricism under the famous Nadapada or Naropa—one of the eighty-four Siddhas (saints of Vajrayana), and the Dvara-Pandita (gate-professor) of the northern gate of Vikramasila. From that time until the age of twenty-nine (1011) he remained a pupil of Naropa. Besides Dipankara, Prajna-rakshita, Kanaka-sri and Manaka-sri were among the chief pupils of Naropa. Marpa, the teacher of Je-tsun Mi-la Raspa—the great poet-saint of Tibet—was also one of the disciples of Naropa.

In those days the head of the Vajrasana-maha-Vihara (Bodh Gaya) was a great and learned monk. His name was Ratnakar Gupta, but he is also known as Vajrasana-pada (Do-rje Idan-pa) or more properly Maha Vajrasanapada. After completing his studies at the feet of Naropa, Dipankara proceeded to Vajrasana, and there, under the Upadhyaya-ship of the elder Maha-Vinayadhara Silarakshita, he was ordained at the age of twenty-nine.

At the age of thirty-one (1013) Dipankara had already completed the study of the three Pitakas together with tantra and other branches of learning; but his thirst for knowledge was not yet quenched. He heard about the great learning of Acharya Dharmapala of Suvarnavipa (Burma). The Mahapanditas Ratnakar-santi (Santipa—one of the 84 Siddhas), Jnanasri-mitra, Ratnakirti, etc. were among his disciples whom he knew well. So he resolved to go to Suvarnavipa, and study there under the great scholar; from Vajrasana he went to the sea-port and sailed for Suvarnavipa, which he reached after a voyage of fifteen months in the course of which he encountered many dangers.

It was not an easy thing to approach the great teacher of Suvarnavipa; therefore Dipankara took his abode in a lonely place. In the meantime some monks began to come to him and by

and by the people became aware of his scholarship; thus without any difficulty he was able to become the disciple of Suvarnadvipa. He remained there for twelve years (1014-26). At first he attended the deep philosophical discourses of his teacher on Abhisamayalankara and Bodhicaryavatara, and afterwards he studied other works.

After completing his studies he returned to India, having visited Ratna-dvipa, Ceylon, and other countries; and took up his residence in Vikramasila. In appreciation of his vast learning and ability, he was appointed the head of 51 pandits and 108 temples. The saint Dombipa (the 4th of the 84 Siddhas) was one of his teachers in tantra. He had studied under Bhuta-koti-pada, Prajnapada and Ratnakara-santi also. His teacher Avadhutipa was the pupil of Damarupa, who was a disciple of the great poet-mystic-philosopher Kanhapa.²

What is the place which Samudragupta occupies amongst the Gupta emperors, the same place is held by Dharmapala (769-809) amongst the Pala emperors. In his time in the whole of Northern India he had not his equal. Once emperor Dharmapala saw a beautifully calm and quiet hill on the bank of the Ganges; he liked the place so much, that he ordered a Vihara to be built there. After the name of the hill, the Vihara came to be known as Vikramasila. The emperor spent much money, and donated many villages for the upkeep of the Vihara. Thus Vikramasila Vihara, unlike so many other institutions, did not start with a humble beginning. Successive kings and rich people competed with one another in bestowing favours on this Vihara. Until the beginning of the 13th century (when, like Nalanda, it was also destroyed by Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar), the splendour and the riches of the Vihara were always in the increase. It became a great and successful rival of Nalanda. There lived 8 mahapanditas (great professors) and 108 panditas. Thousands of students not only from different parts of India but also from outside countries came there to study. At the time, Ratnakara was the head of the institution (Sangha-Sthavira), Santibhadra, Ratnakara-Santi, Maitri (Avadhutipa), Dombipa, Sthavira Bhadra, Smriti-kara-Siddha (Kashmirian) and Dipankara were

✓². Krishnapada, No 17 of the 84 Siddhas, the disciple of Jalandharipada, No 46 of the 84 Siddhas.

8 mahapanditas. In the middle of the Vihara, there was a great temple of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Within the compound there were built 53 temples, big and small, in honour of the different tantric gods and goddesses. Though within the limits of the Pala kingdom there were the great Viharas of Nalanda, Udantapuri and Vajrasana, still Vikramasila received the special attention of the Pala dynasty. That was the age when tantricism had a great hold upon the people; and Vikramasila was the stronghold of this cult. Most of the 84 Siddhas or mystics belonged to the time of the Pala kings (730-1199); and out of them the greatest numbers came from Vikramasila. The first moulding of Tibetan Buddhism was done in the tantric mint of Vikramasila. When Indian kings had to fight with Mohammedan invaders from the west, the great tantrics of this Vihara did not remain watching idly. They fought with them by performing their rituals and reciting formulas. Lama Taranatha says in his *History of Buddhism*, that many times the mighty gods of tantric lore appeared before the Mohammedans and killed many of them.

The great emperors Srong-tsan-Sgambo, Thri-Srong-lde-tsan and their successors, with the exception of Lang-Dar-ma, the last of the imperial dynasty, were all great patrons of Buddhism. They were very zealous in the propagation of Buddhism. With the assassination of Lang-dar-ma, the empire collapsed; and the descendants of mighty Srong-tsan-Sgambo were forced to leave the capital city of Lhasa. The grandson of Lang-dar-ma, Prince Pal-kor-tsan (or Deji-ma-gon) went to Nga-ri (Western Tibet, Ngari-khor-sum), and there he established a small kingdom. Afterwards he divided his kingdom into three parts out of which Ta-shi-de-gon, his second son, received the province of Spu-rangs. His son Kho-re succeeded him but he was so religious minded that he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lha-la-ma Ye-she-Od, and with his two sons Naga-raj and Deva-raj became monks.

In the veins of the King Ye-she-Od still ran the pure blood of Srong-tsan (618-50), Thri-Srong-lde-tsan (719-80) and Ral-pachan, the three Dharmarajas of Tibet. He knew how Srong-tsan had introduced Buddhism, and built Jo-Khang, the great temple of Buddha in the middle of Lhasa, which he founded. He heard about the great Asoke-like achievement of Thri-srong-lde-tsan

who conquered many parts of China, Central Asia, Burma and India; but not satisfied with this much, he devoted himself to the spread of Buddhism, and to the upliftment of his people. With the help of Acharya Santarakshita the Bodhisattva, he built the great monastery of Sam-ye, where the first ordination of Tibetan monks took place. His eyes became as bright as a spark, when the story of Ral-pa-chan was described to him, how the great emperor worshipped the Dhamma and Sangha, "Fastening to his clotted hair a sheet of silk, he made the priest sit on it. He allotted seven clay households to the support of each of the priests and paid great homage to the priesthood." He also heard about the life of the Emperor Mu-ne-tsan-po (780-97) who was a real Bodhisattva, having unlimited compassion for the people. He could not bear to see the sufferings of the people; and in his quest he found that the remedy lay in equal distribution of wealth throughout his empire. He was born before his time, he was, as some people would say, a mad man. But he was mad after an ideal. Thrice he caused an equal distribution of wealth, and the difference between rich and poor disappeared; in spite of the fact that thus he was exposing his person to great danger. And, lo, this Bodhisattva of immortal fame was poisoned by his own mother.

It was not only in the old books that he had read about the self-sacrificing zeal of Bodhisattvas, but he had many fresh examples of that ideal also. When he saw around him the pure Dharma being corrupted and mutilated, and saw people forgetting it, he at once perceived the danger of its disappearance of the only lasting monuments of his great ancestors. He selected Rin-chen-bsang-po (died 1054 AD) and twenty other clever boys, and sent them to Kashmir to study the Dharma for ten years. They began their study under Pandita Ratna-Vajra. But even Kashmir was too hot a climate for the people from Manasarovara; out of twenty-one, only Rinchen and Leg-pa-she-rab returned alive. The king was deeply grieved, but still he was not disheartened. He thought it was difficult for a man from such a cold country as Tibet to live in a warm climate, that therefore it would be better if he could get a good teacher from India. He heard that in the great Vihara of Vikramasila, there lived such a scholar in the person of Dipankara Srijnana; who, if he could be persuaded to come into Tibet, could reform

the Buddhist church. He sent his messengers to Vikramasila, with an ample quantity of gold. They begged Dipankara but he did not agree.

King Ye-she-Od was greatly disappointed. This time he resolved to collect more gold, and again sent for a great scholar from India. The required quantity of gold was not in his treasury; so in order to collect more gold, he went to the frontiers of his country; but he was captured by the king of the neighbouring country of Gar-log.

When this news reached the prince Byang-chhup-Od, he sent to Gar-log in order to obtain the release of his father. The king of Gar-log demanded a heavy ransom. The prince collected the money but it turned out to be a little less than the necessary amount. Before going to fetch more gold the prince went to see his father in prison, and told him everything. The king asked his son not to waste the gold, adding: "You know that now I am already an old man; even if I don't die now. I shall not live more than ten years. If you give away this gold, you will not be able to bring some Pandita from India and reform the Dharma. How well it would be, if you would leave me to die here in the cause of the Dharma; and by sending that gold to India bring a Pandita. Moreover, what reliance can you put upon this king, that even after getting the required quantity of gold, he will release me? So, my son, do not trouble about me. But send some men to India, for Atisha (i.e. Dipankara). This time when he will think of the cause and of my imprisonment for its sake he will surely do us the favour of visiting our country. If, somehow or other, he is not able to come, then bring some other able Pandita from among those under him." So saying the saintly Ye-she-Od, placed his hand upon the head of his son, and blessed him. The son took his last leave of that great soul.

Soon after assuming the rulership of the kingdom, King Byang-chhup-Od (= Chang-Chhup-O) began to select the proper persons to be sent to India. The Upasaka Gung-thang-pa had once been to India, where he remained for two years. The king entrusted him with the mission. Gung-thang selected Tshul-thrim-gyal-va of Nag-tso as his lieutenant and took eight other followers. These ten persons first went to Vikramasila via Nepal.

When they reached the bank of the Ganges, the sun had already set. The ferry man just started for the other shore, with the promise of returning soon. In the twilight, our travellers forgot all their trouble when they saw clearly the great dome (Gandhola) of Vikramasila across the ganges. In a few minutes their attention was drawn to the delay of the ferry man and the fearful gloom of the night spreading around. In that lonely place on the bank of the river, far from human habitation, these ten men in whose charge was large quantity of gold were seized by the fear of robbers. They hid their gold in the sand and began to prepare for their night's rest. Within a few minutes the ferry man returned. When they told him; "We thought that perhaps you would not return tonight", the ferry man replied. "How could I leave you alone near the ford, against the royal decree?" When they were crossing the river, the ferry man informed them that the gates of the Vihara had closed by that time. "You can take rest in the rest-house outside the Western gate; and early in the morning when the gates open, you can go in."

At last they reached the western rest-house. When they were making preparations for their night's rest, the monk Gya-tson-seng over-heard their conversation from the room above the gate. Hearing the sweet words of his mother-tongue, Tson-seng questioned the strangers about their native place and the purpose for which they came. They replied, "We have been sent by King Byang-chhup-Od, and want to take Atisha to Tibet." Tson-seng told them not to disclose their intentions; for in that case, it would be impossible to take Atisha with them. They ought to tell when asked that they had come for study's sake. And when the proper time came, he promised to take them with him to Atisha, and then they could think about the future programme.

A few days after their arrival there took place a meeting of the professors. Gyan-tson took them to the meeting in order to acquaint them with the different professors of Vikramasila. There they saw the eight Mahapanditas and also the other Panditas who worked under Atisha, like Ratna-kirti, Tathagata-Rakshita, Sumati-Kirti, Vairochana-Rakshita, Kanaka-sri and others. They also saw in what esteem Atisha was held by the scholars there.

One day Gya-tson took them to the residence of Dipankara. After making the most respectful salutations they placed all the

gold they had brought before him, and repeated the request of King Byang-chhup-Od, and the touching message of King Ye-she-Od. Dipankara was moved by the story of the brave resolution of King Ye-she-Od. He said—"Really King Ye-She-Od was a Boddhisattva. I cannot go against his request. But you know that, on the one hand I am the managing head of 108 temples, and on the other I have to perform so many other duties of the Church. It will take at least 18 months to make myself free; then I can go to Tibet. Now keep this gold with you."

After that they lived there, passing as regular students. Acharya Dipankara began to relieve himself of his duties. Once on the proper occasion he informed the head of the Vihara Sangha-Sthavira Ratnakara-pada. It was very difficult for him to consent. One day he asked the Tibetan new-comers: "Oh Bhot brethren, you say that you have come here for the purpose of study; have you not come to take Atisha there? Now-a-days Atisha is 'the eye of the Indians'. Do you not see that the Turks are devastating the West? If at such a time Atisha also goes outside India, surely the sun of the teaching of our Lord will set here."

Having obtained, with great difficulty, the consent of Sangha-Sthavira, they then brought the gold before Atisha. He divided it into four parts, one for the professors of Vikramasila, the second for the offerings at Vajrasana, the third for the Sangha at Vikramasila, which he gave to Ratnakara-Pada; and the fourth he entrusted to the king for many religious and charitable purposes. Then he asked his people with the five Tibetan followers to proceed towards Nepal, with his books and belongings; and he himself with his six disciples and five Tibetans, altogether twelve souls, started for Vajrasana (Maha Bodhi).

There at Maha Bodhi Dipankara while paying his last homage to the most sacred diamond-throne (Vajrasana) composed a poem in his mother-tongue, the Tibetan translation of which is still preserved in Stan-jur. After visiting some more places, with Kshiti-garbha and others he departed for Tibet. On the way he rested at a Vihara in the last village—within the boundary of India. Here Atisha's disciple Dom-ton in his *Life of Dipankara Sriijnana* (Guru-guna-dharmakara) adds—

"At the time when the master was departing from India, the religion (of Buddha) was likely to disappear." In that last Indian

village Dipankara saw three very small puppies uncared for; his tender heart melted at the sight; he took them in his robe, and carried them. The people say that the descendants of those dogs are still found in the province of Dang.

After having crossed the boundary of India, he entered Nepal, and in a few days reached the capital of Nepal. The king (Ananta-Kirti) welcomed him with great respect, and made him a royal guest. He urged him to stay in Nepal so vehemently that he was not able to leave Nepal for one year. In this year (1041) Atisha ordained a royal prince (Padmaprabha) and wrote a letter to King Nayapala (1026-41); the letter is still preserved in its Tibetan translation. From Nepal he proceeded towards his destination. When he reached Thung-vihara, Bhikshu Gya-tson-seng fell ill, and he had to stop there. He tried his best to save him, but all in vain; as Gya-tson died within a few days. To Dipankara it was a great loss, as Gya-tson was not only his beloved disciple, but at the same time was a learned scholar, and a fine Lo-tsa-va (translator) also. Dipankara's heart was as if broken by this loss. He said, "Now what is the use of my going to Tibet, when my Lo-Tsa-va is no more?" But Tshul-thrim-gyal-va and others console him.

Everywhere in his kingdom the King Byang-chhup-Od had arranged to make his journey comfortable. The people already knew about the coming of the great teacher. When Dipankara entered Tibet; one hundred picked soldiers on white horses headed by their general welcomed him. In welcoming him the king's representative expressed their feeling thus: "O greatest Indian Teacher, your coming to our country is not less than the coming of a god. We shall ever remain thankful to you for this act of compassion. No doubt Tibet is not as fortunate as India as far as the spread of Dharma is concerned, but the Tibetans have their own special characteristic. During the summer it is not as hot as India; and during winter its narrow hill villages are sufficiently warm... We Tibetans are always ready to serve you."

On the way to Tho-ling people flocked together to welcome the great teacher. When he was nearing the capital Tho-ling, the king, with his ministers, came to receive him. He was conducted to Ser-gi-lha-Khang Vihara of Tho-ling. Thus in the Tibetan year of water-male-horse (1042 AD) in the sixty-first year of his life he

reached Tho-ling. He lived there for nine months; and translated many works from Sanskrit into Tibetan with the help of his interpreters (Lo-tsa-va). It was here that he wrote his famous book Bodhipathapradipa.

In his three years stay in the province of Nga-ri he translated a number of Sanskrit works. In the year tree-male-monkey (1044 AD) he went to Purang. There the most beloved disciple (and his successor in tantra), Dom-ton, came to Atisha at the age of forty-one. From that time until the death of his master like Arhat Ananda Dom-ton always remained with him; and after his death he wrote the life of his teacher in Tibetan, Guru-guna-Dharma-kara. Though Atisha travelled almost all over the Tibetan provinces of Nga-ri, Tsang and U even in his travels he was regularly writing and translating books. In the year fire-male-pig (1047 AD) he visited the great Vihara of Sam-ye; and was very much struck with the marvellous collection of Sanskrit works in the library³ there, some of which were rare even in the big Viharas of India. In his fourteen years stay in Tibet in the year iron-male-tiger (1050 AD) he went to Yer-va. Apart from his first year of travel he lived three years in Nga-ri (Western Tibet), four years in U and Tsang, and six years in the plain of Ne-thang—a few miles from Lhasa.

In the year tree-male-horse (1054 AD), on 18th day of the 9th Tibetan month he died in Tara-temple of Ne-thang at the age of seventy-three. On 25 April 1930, in the course of my return journey from Lhasa I visited this hallowed place of blessed memory. Very little in the structure has changed during these nine centuries, as is clear from the very old red-sandal pillars. His sacred relics—bowls, copper water jug (Dharma karaka) and stick (Khadara danda)—are still preserved in a cage under the Dalai Lama's seal.

All the four prominent modern Buddhist sects in Tibet pay equal respect to Jo-vo-Pa-dan Atisha. The most powerful sect—Ge-lug-pa (of Dalai Lama and Tashi-Lama) traces its origin from his personality. The founder of its sect Tsong-Kha-pa (1356-1418) was amongst the spiritual descendants of Dom-ton-pa. In fact after the reformation of Tson-kha-pa all the Ka-dam-pas (the

3. This Vihara was destroyed by fire, and with it, the previous collection of rare books and works also.

followers of Atisha) like Tsan-nid-pa merged into Ge-lug-pa sect, and so the Ge-lugs are known as new Ge-lug-pa.

The original Sanskrit and Hindi works of Dipankara are no more available, but their translations in Tibetan are preserved in Tibetan Stan-jur. He wrote more than forty-three works on Mahayana Buddhism and other subjects, and more than one hundred and twenty-seven on tantric themes. Besides these he has translated many Sanskrit works into Tibetan, and revised an equal number of such as were translated before him.

On Way to Tibet

DURING MY Two months stay in Nepal, I finished the proofs of Dighanikaya and Japan. The missing portion of the first three Chapters of Pramanavartika was also restored. My friend Dr Jayaswal had returned to India after a week's sojourn in Nepal. Winter season had passed and now spring was appearing everywhere in its thousand forms. Tibetan traders and pilgrims had already returned to their country, and news reached us that the Himalayan passes were now open. So we decided to start for Tibet immediately. Apart from the provisions for our journey, we bought some saffron dried fruits, biscuits and other tin food to be presented to our Tibetan friends. We also took some simple medicines, as in Tibet most of the diseases have as their remedies only faith-cure.

The great Sanskritist and royal preceptor Pandit Hemraja Sharman has always taken a paternal interest in my journeys. This time also I received many a valuable advice and much material assistance in my undertaking. He not only gave me a dozen film packets, but also told me that I should not worry about the expenses, and use the services of a photographer if available. It is still doubtful whether there is any good photographer at Shigartse or not, even if there is one it would not be possible for me to employ his services with my meagre purse of Rs 240. The chief purpose of my present journey is to bring back copies of the Sanskrit palm manuscript originally taken from India during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and now preserved in the archives of Tibetan monasteries. When I left India, I had only one hundred rupees, which was not enough even for the personal expenses of a foot traveller; besides I was yet too weak as a result the typhoid attack I had in December-January. In fact many good

This article was published in The Maha-Bodhi journal, vol 44, Nos 10 and 11, October-November, 1936 and vol 45, No 1, January, 1937.

friends had advised me not to take such an arduous journey in such a weak state of health, but I felt I could not, on any account, postpone the publication of *Pramanavartika*, the chief work of the great Dharmakirti who the Russian Savant Dr Stcherbatsky describes as "The Indian Kant". My recent illness was so severe that I learnt subsequently that my friends were considering where to cremate my body and where to place the ashes! During the whole of my illness my own mind was occupied with the thought of the restoration and publication of *Pramanavartika*, and sometimes I felt very sad, that in the event of my death there would be no one to bring the last chapters of the great work from the inaccessible archives of the monastery of Sa-Skya.

15th April was the date fixed for our departure from Nepal. The three porters engaged to carry our luggage up to Nenum had left Katmandu early in morning. Two ponies which Guruji (Pandit Hemraj Sharman) gave us with the permission that we could take them as far as we liked were also sent ahead. We could motor up to Sankhu as there is a motorable road from Katmandu till that place. After taking leave of our kind host Sahu Dharmaman and his family, whose hospitality we had enjoyed for the last two months and to whose generosity all of my Tibetan journeys are due, we went to say good-bye to Guruji, the scholar and patron saint of learning in Nepal. Already suffering from chronic gout, just one day before we started he got several bruises by falling from the stair-case. At the age of sixty this is a serious mishap, but with his smiling face covered with grey hair, like a snow-capped Himalayan peak, he was ready to bid us farewell with kind words. With a thankful heart, but without its outward expression lest it might be disagreeable to our venerable friend we took leave; he filled our hands with fruits, suggesting that our venture would be as fruitful.

The road to Sankhu is tolerably good. We passed Mahabandha, the biggest and one of the most sacred stupas of Nepal. At two o'clock the day was sufficiently hot, the place looked empty. In winter, all the houses encircling it are crowded with Tibetan devotees. According to our previous arrangement we intended to cross the Nang-le pass, but it seems, that our porters had been enjoying country-beer at Mahabandha, as up to 2 PM they did not proceed more than three miles from Katmandu. We reached Sankhu in half an hour, and considering the rate of pro-

gress made by our porters, we decided to stay at Sankhu for the night.

Sankhu is the biggest village in Nepal valley. With its orderly rows of shops it looks like a marketing town. Like other places in the valley it also suffered much from the recent earthquake, but the effect would have been erased if it had any good prospect of trade. With old abandoned dilapidated houses, and the tottering ancient edifices, it presented a very gloomy look. १- ~~जस~~

Sankhu is famous for its well-known goddess Vajiravarahi, whose temple is not far away from the town. The people celebrate many festivals of their old goddess, but not on the same scale as in bygone days. Will its trade be revived? Will its artisans be again busy with their crafts in the future? How can this be possible when we see the whole country flooded with cheap foreign products. Agriculture will remain the only means of sustenance for its inhabitants.

(16 April) Early in the morning we started. After riding one mile or so the ascent began. For a few hundred feet it was so steep, we could not use our ponies. It took more than an hour to reach the summit. The road was tolerable, good, and then the descent was easy. At a lonely shop we took our breakfast, and after having an hour's rest we started on our journey again. Though the descent was not so steep, yet it was very long. At last we reached a big stream which is one of the chief tributaries of Kosi. The bridge is a little further up but placing a big trunk of a tree a temporary cause-way by which men alone were able to cross the stream. Fortunately the water was not deep and the ponies had no difficulty in crossing it a few yards further down. At the foot of the hill we waited for our porters. We asked them where we could stay for the night. They said they could reach the summit where there were many shops and where both men and beasts could rest comfortably. When we reached the Nawalpur bazar we found the sun setting and the porters were still behind us but we hoped that they would certainly reach in time as our beddings and provisions were all with them. When we had waited patiently for two and half hours a traveller arrived and informed us that the porters were staying a mile down and were not coming up that night. As I had my robes, I could manage with them, but Abhesingha had only his coat and pyjama. The night was sufficiently cold, so the problem seemed a bit difficult to

solve. When the old shopkeeper came to know about our difficulty he lent us a blanket. We laid ourselves on the rough straw beds. Sound sleep was impossible as our stomachs were empty and bugs and small fleas were stinging us. It was however not an unusual experience. *पिस्सू*

Next morning the porters came, with many excuses. There was no use quarrelling with them. We asked one of our grooms to be always with them. After taking a heavy breakfast we again started. It was a long descent that we had to negotiate now. All the hills were studded with fields, and very little jungle was left; so the beauty of the sub-Himalayas was gone and many of the water fountains were dried up. Perhaps the government is trying to preserve what remains of the forest, but now the effort appears to be too late. The cultivation in this part of the country is so extensive that the fields occupy more area than the land on which these hills stand. It would have been more profitable to the country if there had been more orchards instead of cultivations of cheap cereals. Nepal is very poor in its exports. This will become quite clear if you witness the empty holding-pans on the rope-line going down and all the holding-pans coming towards Nepal full of foreign products. Before the ropeway was constructed, every house in Nepal had its own looms and spinning wheel. All footwears were made in the country. Even umbrellas were made there. But now things have changed. Almost all industrial enterprises have been stopped. The adverse trade balance is affecting the currency of the country. Already the exchange value has dropped by 20 per cent. Only by encouraging the industrial development through protective duty, and by changing the agricultural land into fruit growing orchards that the country can prosper. *सईस*

After going down a stream, we began to climb another hill. We left one of our grooms to bring the porters up. After riding two and a half hours we reached Chautara at half past three. Chautara bazar is just on the top of the range. There are about twenty shops. From the roofs of the houses you can see on both sides mountain-slopes covered with fields in terraces. Indian corn has already been sown and the farmers were waiting for the monsoon. When we had asked for lodging from two or three houses, a poor Newar offered his house for our shelter. The groom who was with us was complaining a severe pain in his stomach. We wanted to give him some medicine but he refused to take it. After two hours *फलों का-बगीचा*

the porters arrived. The two boys who had divided our load among themselves had got quite tired and it was beyond their power to carry the load further. So we had to find another porter. The groom's condition was still troubling us but we hoped that he would be alright by the morning. In the night there was a slight shower of rain.

Next morning with some difficulty we got a porter to go to the frontier. The groom's cases showed no improvement. When we asked the other groom if he could manage both the horses with the help of a new man, he pleaded his inability as the other horse was very frisky. He was reluctant even to bring his own horse. He wanted to return along with the other groom. It required some persuasion and even threats to make him accompany us.

After our departure from Chautara, we came to know that the groom had no stomach trouble at all. He only pretended to be ill so that he might go back. He had even asked his companion to accompany him. Now we understood why he had refused to take any medicine, even hot milk. We reached Jalvir at noon. When I was returning last time from Tibet, I found on this side of the suspension-bridge plenty of fried fish being sold in the shops. Now, except one or two, all other shops were closed. The place looked deserted. The main bazar was a little up on the other side of the river. Here too we found the same spectacle. Two years ago the shopkeepers of this place looked prosperous. We could not understand the reason for the change now visible. It might be on account of the harvesting season been over.

From Jalvir bazar we had to ascend again. Between Katmandu and Nenum travellers have to cross four passes, this one called "Deovrali" is the highest. After climbing a few furlongs rain started, so we had to take shelter. Having made a little more progress we stopped at Paire for our night's rest. A palatial three-storeyed building was our resting place. Its small smooth tiles, its elaborately carved balconies and its well-shaped brick walls showed that its owner was a prosperous man. At the time of our visit it was used as a rest-house by travellers and the upper storey occupied by a dumb and deaf old woman. The place seemed rather too large for such a quiet person—but originally it was not meant for her use. Perhaps it was made by some merchant when the trade was in a flourishing condition, and abandoned when bad times came as in such a small village no one could afford to

buy such a building. There was no difficulty in finding some Indian-corn for our ponies, but it was not an easy job to find even a handful of straw for them. In fact it was too difficult to get dry or green fodder for the pack mules between Sankhu and Tatpani. This is the reason why animals seldom pass through this route. All the merchandise to and from Nanum is carried by porters.

Early in the morning we began to climb another steep ascent. Though the ascent is almost perpendicular yet its difficulties are lessened by the zigzag route made during the Tibeto-Nepalese conflict of 1929-30. That war was almost certain but it was the tactful persuasion of Mr Laden La that prevented the great calamity. We stayed for two hours at Yanlakot, a Tamang village.

After meals, we resumed our upward journey. It was an easy ascent to Deovrali Pass. Except on the summit no forest is to be found, and here on the top too new settlers were busy in making new clearings. Right on the pass there were two or three Tamang houses. During my last trip, I found one or two shops but now there was none. Perhaps during the harvest season some such shops are temporarily opened. We waited for an hour for the porters. After walking three or four miles we reached Thagam village. It is a pretty big village. We chose the Newar-settlement for our stay. There were about ten Newar-houses. They were quite good and looked like the houses in the valley. About a hundred years ago these people came from the valley as petty merchants but as there was not much scope for such enterprise in these poor villages, they diverted their attention towards agriculture. They specially cultivate potatoes. With some difficulty we got permission for our night's shelter in the verandah of a house. The family consisted of only two or three people. The house-wife was in sick-bed, a little later the master of the house—a very gentle old man—came. From the very appearance, the house looked sad, the face of the old man confirmed the impression, yet he tried his best to make us comfortable. From a neighbouring house we purchased some rice for ourselves and grains for our ponies. No potatoes or any kind of vegetables were available. We took our simple meal and went to rest. We had great fear of fleas because in such places they abound, but the night somehow passed peacefully.

Early in the morning we again started. From day before the porters were insisting that we should go by the lower route. From Tatpani, the Tibeto-Nepalese frontier, up to this place there are

two routes. The road passing through the upper range of mountains is longer than the one passing through the lower parts of the hills. Ponies can go only by the upper route which is well kept. The lower route had many ascents and descents and it is absolutely impossible for ponies to take such a narrow and dangerous footpath. Today again our porters insisted that we should take the shorter route. We explained our difficulty. Then they asked to be allowed to go by that route, but that also was not possible. Without our beddings and provisions what could we do in the night; so with great reluctance they felt obliged to follow us. For about two hours our road was quite good, then the inevitable steep ascent began and after half an hour we reached the bottom of the narrow gauge. It was already nine O'clock but the place was still untouched by the sunrays. The mountains were covered with trees. Below a small stream ran smoothly. Nearby two water mills made soothing noise. We stayed for two hours to take our breakfast which consisted of rice and dried fish.

Now from here another steep and long ascent began. After going a little up, I rode my pony. Indian corn or maize is the chief product of this locality. We passed a small hamlet. There remains two or three trees, the remnant of the old jungle which once covered the whole hill-side. On the top of the trees black-faced monkeys were making a harsh noise. As it is very seldom that the ponies pass by this road, so perhaps their sight was a little strange to them. After three hours strenuous journey we reached the top of one of the hills. There is a small village here 'Khilti' by name, inhabited by four or five Newar families. Formerly there used to be the frontier-custom post here, and the place was in a flourishing condition when these Newar families came to settle down. Now their chief occupation is potato-cultivation. Close by is a temple of the Goddess Durga. It has an ordinary thatched roof.

A few years back a devotee (Colonel Ganga Bahadur) a military officer, presented a big bronze lion to the goddess with a dedicatory verse in Sanskrit. We rested here a while, when the gentle housewife offered us cool water to drink. At a little distance are Sharba houses. Sharbas are real Tibetans living in Nepal. Their villages are situated in the highest zone of the mountains. For their yaks and sheep they need grazing ground and also plenty of wood for their own use. On our way we

passed several cowherds camps. During this season of the year these people bring their cattle for grazing, to a distance of a week's walk from their homes. We tried to get some buttermilk but without success. On our way we passed a big Sharba village with a beautiful temple of the Buddha. At 4 O'clock in the evening we reached the highest point. Now an arduous descent awaited us. The scenery was beautiful. It was pleasant to see the tall green trees, from where a continuous note of a Himalayan bird was coming to us. In rains the beauty is marred by the bull-sucking leaches, but fortunately the rainy season had not as yet begun. We passed a government granary. In Nepal you witness many granaries almost in every locality. These stores of grain are to help the people during drought and famine. After compassing a small wooden bridge, not very far from which is a good waterfall, we had to climb up again. When we reached Dugna, Sharba-houses were offering their hospitality, but our porters decided to stay in Tamang houses which were a little farther down. Tamangs and Sharbas both are Buddhists, but Sharbas are comparatively more zealous for their religion, as they are often benefited by the visit of the pious and learned Lamas of Tibet. It was already dark when we reached the place where we had to stay for the night. At some distance on the spire of a hill was an abandoned old fortification. It was erected to guard against invasions from the Tibetan side. When the country was under China, Chinese garrisons were stationed in many places, in the Tibetan frontier, but as those garrisons are no longer there these fortifications are lying idle.

On 21 May we started very early. A smooth ascent and then an easy walk down hill till we reached Bhutiya Kusi. After a little rest and an hour's journey we reached Tatpani at 10 O'clock. As one of our porters was engaged only up to this place we had to arrange for another. At this place there is a custom-house, and a post office too. The officer-in-charge is the same old brahman gentleman who was here when two years ago I passed this place on my return journey from Tibet. As there are fine sulphur hot water springs, the place is named Tat-Pan (hot water). After exchanging the usual compliments we went to the hot spring to have a good bath. Now the problem was to find a porter to go to Nenum. This being salt-season, thousands of Nepalis pass to and from Nenum. They are laden with rice and

other grains, when going towards Nenum, and with salt, the product of Tibetan salt lake, while coming from Nenum. Our officer friend tried his best to find some one to take luggage but without success. We waited up to 1 O'clock. At last feeling hopeless the officer asked his own servant to carry my luggage upto Nenum. After offering our heartfelt thanks for his hospitality and kindness we took his leave.

The Kudari frontier military post is not very far from Tatpani. Here the names of all the travellers are noted down. The clerk when he heard that I was an Indian, an usual visitor to that place, told me that he must inform the officer. The officer was a new man, not the one whom I saw two years ago. But he was a good-natured person. One of his soldiers also happened to know me, when I had passed the place last time. Then there was Thakur Ram Bahadur, Guruji's groom. So he was quite satisfied with the purpose of my journey; yet he said: "It is a frontier post, and a heavy responsibility lies upon our shoulders. I can refuse your passing the frontier, but it will be too cruel. So in the future it will be good for both sides if an official letter from Nepal is brought."

Thus ended the first part of my journey within Nepal boundary. Passing the little Sharba village, and after walking down a mile, we came to the risky wooden bridge of Bhot-kosi, which is the real frontier of Tibet and Nepal. After crossing it we entered Tibet at 3 PM. The valley of Bhot-kosi, from Tatpani to Chhok-sum has beautiful scenery. Though in other respects it can be compared with the upper Sultaji Valley of Bushahar state, yet there is not that thick pine forest so characteristic of that valley; still I must say that Bhot-kosi is one of the beauty-spots of the Himalayas. I can vividly recollect my feelings when in 1929, I was passing for the first time through this route disguised as a Ladakhi monk. On that occasion how much pleased I was when I passed the scrutiny of the Nepal frontier guard safely and entered the Tibetan territory. Today when I remember that hazardous trip I am overwhelmed with emotion. Even today when I cross the boundary bridge safely I have a feeling of joy. And then I enjoy the enchanting scenery of the place. The whole landscape covered with tall trees, the thundering roar of the river, a thousand kinds of singing birds—these are the things which I enjoy immensely. Though my com-

panion Mr Abesingha is entering the forbidden land for the first time he does not seem to realise the value of his adventurous journey.

The road on the Tibetan side of the frontier is never repaired. On the road at one or two places, we passed inns built specially for the use of salt carriers. Keepers are mostly women. They give shelter, water and firewood, in return for which Nepalese give them rice or some other kind of grain. During these two or three months the inn-keepers can earn a little money in this way. In every inn they keep Chhang (a kind of light-beer) for the use of customers.

First we thought we could reach Dam, but towards the evening I felt tired. The same was the case with my companion. Dam was still two or three miles up. When we reached Teizegang, it was already dark. We stopped in an inn. The proprietors, the husband and wife, were both kind to us. When they heard that their new arrival was an Indian Lama, they were very pleased. We were given a place near hearth. As the place was about ten thousand feet high it was very cold. We gave them rice and vegetable which the house-wife prepared for us. After a hearty meal we retired to have the sorely needed rest.

Next day we started early, without even taking tea or breakfast. Just before the entrance to the Dam village there is a suspension bridge which rocks fearfully; and several hundred feet below is a roaring torrent. The bridge is made of hand-made iron chains and shakes terribly when one stands on it. But here the people seem to be very clever. They have got two gods to protect them. When we were passing through the village I heard a friendly voice from the upper storey of a house. A monk and a nun were taking their meal. I could well recognise them. It was these two persons who gave me shelter when I was trying to enter Tibet in disguise during the first visit. After usual exchange of greetings we bade good-bye to one another. For our morning meal we halted at a lonely hut. When we reached the next village it was noon. We desired to reach Chhok-sum the same day.

It was spring, so many varieties of wild flowers were to be seen, specially Gunas or Red Asoka which looked most beautiful. These trees were covered with red and white flowers. I was struck by the beauty of one of the trees. It looked like a

graceful pine tree of some Japanese garden. The only difference was that in this case instead of green leaves it was covered with blood-red flowers. Reflections on the beauty of the scenery made the journey pleasant. The road was not difficult, though between Tatpani and Chhok-sum we had to cross the same river nine times. Towards the evening there was a slight shower, and wind also began to blow. We reached Chhok-sum before night fall. There are hot springs at Chhok-sum. We wanted to take a good bath, as we well knew we were entering Tibet where it was not easy to have good bath. But it was so cold that my companion did not even want to move from his seat. The path to the spring—which was a little below—was also filthy, so I postponed the bath till the next morning.

Nenum is not very far from Chhok-sum. So on the 23rd we took our morning meal and thereafter a hot bath. Already pine and other trees were showing the effect of altitude at Chhok-sum but it was after we had walked for two or three miles that they disappeared altogether. Now one saw only the dry treeless barren mountains. In a few places, we found small patches of snow. On the summits of the mountains there was snow. We took tea at a road-side house and continued our journey. My friend wondered to see so many Yaks grazing in the hills as the grass shrubs were very scanty here.

After climbing the corner of a hill, we saw the town of Nenum. Its grey walls made of uncut stones and the complete absence of greenery made it look a quaint thing. We reached the Mani-wall, on which millions of sacred formulas engraved on stone-pieces are placed. At the further end of the wall some clerks were busy noting down the names of the travellers. They enquired as to where we were going to put up. Only after getting a satisfactory reply did they allow us to proceed. I had a letter of introduction to a Nepali merchant. I was a bit annoyed when the merchant showed us his godown—a dark and damp celler like house. Nenum is famous for its snow and its biting cold wind and we felt sure that we would catch pneumonia, if we stayed in that godown. Fortunately for us the younger son of our host had recently been to Katmandu, and had seen me living decently there, so he told something in the ears of his father, and as a sequel we were offered a warm comfortable room near the kitchen.

Nenum is the headquarters of a district. In Tibet all the government posts have a double set of officers. So Nenum also has its two Zongpons or magistrates. One of the Zongpons had been to Katmandu recently where I was introduced to him by our common host Sahu Dharmaman. Next morning when I went to see him and get his help for the remaining portion of the journey, the Zong-nub (western magistrate), as he is called since his residential quarter is in the western portion of the magisterial building was very pleased to see me there. I asked for his help in hiring some ponies to reach Sa-Skya monastery. He calmly told me that they were instructed by their governments not to allow any Indian to proceed further. "But", he added, "I know you personally, that you are doing a great service to our religion, so I will not obstruct you, but you should see my fellow officer. He is a good man, and if he agrees I will arrange for other Zong. Zong-shar (eastern magistrate) was very harsh in his behaviour, and might not give me permission. Next day I went to see him. I had an album of Tibetan photographs which I had taken in my last journey. Zong-shar comes from Lhasa. I explained him the purpose of my journey and showed him the printed copies and press-proofs of the Sanskrit works, which I had discovered in Tibetan monasteries in my last journey. Contrary to what the other said about him he gladly gave his consent, and said: "We both will consult and arrangements will be made for your journey."

Next day when I saw the Zong-nub in expectation that he would arrange for three ponies, he told me that he could not send only three ponies for a fortnight's journey, and that I should wait for some days, till some more loads could be secured for other ponies.

But fortunately on the same day four Nepalese arrived. They were also going to Shigartse. So we were saved from the trouble of waiting in the unwholesome climate of Nenum.

Before we started we had to collect provisions for our journey. In the letter of introduction given to me our host was asked to give me as much money as I required. Our host showed a little reluctance, but afterwards thinking of the letter of the great merchant with whom he had the business relations, he consented to give me the required amount. I asked for the equivalent

of 150 Nepalese rupees in Tibetan coins. The rate of exchange was one Nepali rupee for $14\frac{1}{2}$ Tibetan tankas. I knew this only after I left Nenum. As I was given at the rate of 14 tankas only, I lost Rs 4.11. Afterwards I learnt that he played such tricks on other purchasers also.

On 28 May we left Nenum at 4 AM. One is not allowed to cross the wooden bridge on the small Nenum Chho river, unless one has got a pass from the Song-pan. But as our muleteers were Zong's own servants, nobody asked for the passes. On the other side of the bridge there were three or four houses. As we proceeded towards the bridge some people came towards us with small pots filled with water. In Tibet, as in India, a pot full of water is considered a good ~~omen~~² for the travellers. After crossing the small bridge, we passed another branch of Bhot-kosi river. We were six in all—myself, Mr Abesingha, Tejaratna, the Nepalese photographer and his Tibetan wife, Mahila and Sukhacha, two Nepalese youngmen. We had also two muleteers. I had spoken to Tejaratna about the photographing of the Sanskrit manuscript. The terms were settled and he consented to accompany me, wherever there were manuscripts to be photographed. Mahila and Sukhacha were both new-comers. Sukhacha could manage with his pony, but it was the first time that Mahila rode one. He was at the mercy of his old one-eyed pony. He would cry like small child whenever his horse took even a slightly fast step. Tejaratna's first visit to Tibet was some twenty years ago.

We halted for a few minutes at a road-side village. Our friends helped themselves with Tibetan-beer, while I got a cup of butter milk. At one O'clock we passed Sake, the first Tibetan monastery on the way. Winter was just over, and the villagers were preparing their fields for sowing. Majestic looking Yaks decorated with red woolen ~~plumes~~³, were slowly walking from one side of the field to the other, and ploughmen were singing their thousand years old songs. When we were nearing the village Chang-do-Oma, we saw the eastern magistrate coming the same way. He was going to Tashilumpo Monastery on pilgrimage with his three retainers. We stopped at the village for the night. The whole village welcomed their Zongpon (magistrate) with hats in hand and tongues stretched out.

This was our first night in a purely Tibetan home. Close to

the gate was chained a big black dog with its fierce looking sulphur-coloured eyes. Across the courtyard, we were ushered into the main house. Though it had a small opening through the roof yet one had to make one's eyes accustomed to the interior light before one could see where one was. A six inches high cushion was spread for us to sit, and no sooner than we sat, an iron pot with many holes in it placed on a small iron-tripod was brought before us. On it was placed another larger tripod to place the cooking pot on. This device is made specially for burning the dried dung, the only fuel available in the country.

Next day (29th) we could not start before 10 AM. Our two horses were to be changed. Just after coming out of the village Mahila's pony became a little frisky and the horseman dropped the bridle. Fortunately the pony was very weak and lazy, so nothing serious happened. I and Mr Abesingha tried to catch the bridle. We are perhaps better horsemen and so we were ahead of him. Our young friend Mr Abesingha had a fine pony, so he could not check himself from the temptation of indulging in a little horsemanship in spite of my warning. Seeing this the horsekeeper became furious and called names. We passed the old deserted Chinese fort of Yalep. Here the valley is very broad but looks like a sandy desert. At several places we saw the stone walls of deserted houses.

We reached Thulang at about 4 P.M. Thulang is the last village on this side of the Thong Pass. It is a pretty big village.

As we had to cross Thong Pass, we started next day before sun rise. Except in the bed of the stream there was no snow anywhere else. We halted here for an hour to take tea, and then we started again. Except close to the pass the ascent is not very difficult; but owing to the high altitude, ponies had to stop after every 10 or 15 steps. We reached the summit at noon. Tibetan passes are very dangerous as they are often infested with robbers. Murders are generally committed at such places. But we were many and the Zong and his retainers had pistols with them.

After a long but easy descent we reached Lankor at 4 PM. Lankor is a place of pilgrimage, as it was here that the Indian saint Phadampa lived and died. Before the fifties of the last

century, there was a big monastery at Lankor, but was destroyed during the Nepalese war. The old temple where Phadampa lived still exists. Inside it is kept a bronze image of him. Some of the bronze images of Avolokiteshvara and the Buddha are seventeen hundred years old. Their workmanship shows that they came either from India or Nepal. Some Tibetan manuscript are also kept here carelessly.

Tingri is not more than six miles from Lankor, but it looks nearer. From the plain of Tingri we could clearly see the peak of Chamolung-ma (the Mount Everest). My Tibetan friends were very earnest in their conviction that the great earthquake of Bihar was caused by the resident gods of that peak, who were angry because an aeroplane flew above their heads.

Tingri is the seat of a Zong. There is a small fort on the top of the small detached hill. On one side is the town of Tingri. We made a halt as our Zong wanted to do so.

On second May, we started at 8 AM. We left the Tingri plain and entered the valley of the main branch of Kosi, called Phong-chhu. Tibet is a treeless country. All of its mountains are naked heaps of earth with a few rocks here and there. To see a mountain entirely formed with stone is rather unusual in Tibet; hence such mountains get a special sanctity. On our left side is Tsi-bri, one of the most sacred mountains of Tibet, formed with stones. Pious people come to visit this mountain which is surrounded by many temples and monasteries. It takes no less than seven days to circumambulate it. Some devout pilgrims measure the whole length by stretching their bodies. Tibetans are convinced that this mountain originally did not belong to them. It was a mountain of the Arya-country (Phgyul-India) and has specially come to their country to give a chance to the pious people to earn merit. There are other such sanctified Indian mountains in Tibet.

As we proceeded on, we heard the melodious songs of men and women who were repairing water-ways as the sowing season had come and they had to irrigate their fields. When they saw half a dozen horse-riders, they left their work and ran towards us. They asked for Shoera (donations). It is a custom in Tibet that on certain occasions farmers ask such donations from the passers by, with which they purchase Chhang (country-beer) and enjoy themselves. These occasions are when they are busy

either doing some public works like repairing canals and roads, or when the fields are green with crops. Without giving at least a copper piece it is not possible to escape these jolly folk.

By noon we passed Nimo. Between Tingri and Nimo the distance is not less than twelve miles, but there is only one village between them. So the reader can understand how sparsely the country is populated. The next village is Chakor. In bygone days it was an important place. Even now some big walls are standing. Though at present the number of houses is not more than a dozen and they too are not in a flourishing condition, yet in former days their number was considerable. Close by, on the top of the hill, there are ruins of a fortified castle. Many stone-built high walls are still standing. When did the glory of Chakor vanish? The local people do not know. Having seen many a Tibetan monastery built on steep hills, we thought this also was a monastery. It may be possible to get some information if the old archives of the Tibetan monasteries are hunted out. But so far even the spade-work has not been done in order to write a systematic history of Tibet. Chakor is situated on the ancient trade-route to India through Nepal and even to distant Kashmir and Ladakh. It was the only route. From here it is divided into two—the more important route passes through Sa-Skya and reaches the Brahmaputra at Shigartse, the other reaches the above place through Shelkar and Lhartse.

We reached Chakor at 3 O'clock. Our muleteer went to one of his acquaintances' house. We were offered the best room in the house. So we felt pleased specially as the day before we had to be satisfied with a bad room. But gods became jealous of our luck, and within an hour the retainer of the Nenum Zongpon came, and told that the Zong was coming and that he has to be given the best place. We had thus to move into the donkey's stable. The dirt and sickening smell were unbearable. But there was no other alternative also. It appeared that the old housewife was an expert in making good beer as our friends were praising its taste, and pouring out cup after cup. Our head muleteer was the first to get drunk and lay down on the floor. The jar of beer was near him. I asked my companion to remove it. He was very displeased, and replied: "I cannot do any work on account of these rogues." He could not realise that he was in Tibet where there existed only two classes—master and slave.

The next morning (3 May) at seven we started after taking a light breakfast of Tsampa (parched flour) and tea. Our road lay by the right of the Phang-chhu. Not very far from the village there is another small fortification on a hillock by the road side. On our way we saw some ruined villages and abandoned fields, which showed that the population had diminished from what it was a few centuries ago. The valley is very wide, but it is devoid of any vegetables. We were astonished to see sheep grazing. Perhaps with their microscopic eyes, they saw some tiny grasses. Without halting anywhere we reached Dubshi at half past one. Here also decay and neglect are visible everywhere. We felt a great relief when we heard that the Zong who ousted us from the good room at Chakor will stay here and not proceed any further.

Across the hill on our right, the country is well wooded but here in this treeless, waterless wilderness only bone-splitting cold winds and monotonous waste lands greet strangers. The roads in Tibet are seldom repaired. At one place a river flew by the road at the foot of the hill, by which we were riding. At another place our companion narrowly escaped death, as the saddle of his horse was loose and he fell down on the ground. Luckily he had fallen on the left. Towards the evening we reached Phaka village which also appeared a skeleton of its former self. We were lodged in the biggest house in the village. It was comfortable but no fodder was available for our animals.

Next morning (4 May) we started before sunrise. We crossed the river and rode on its left bank. We passed an old village with a red temple. In my last return journey also I had passed it. Here we have two roads, the shorter one lies across a pass and the longer one leads round the hill. Our muleteer preferred the longer one. To our right, across the river lay the high village of Chhoskor. It is a cantonment where two or three hundred soldiers live. We took our meal in a Dogpa (shepherd) village. After turning to the left we reached a field of soda. The layer of soda was neither thick nor continuous, but the gas was so strong that our horses began to sneeze. We passed several mounds made of sand. These horse-shoe shaped mountains are the marks of Atabus, a kind of demon. My Nepalese friend told me that these demons were so powerful that within a few minutes they could remove a mound of hundred thousand tons

from one place to another. Actually the sand was removed by whirl-winds. When we passed through this land haunted by thousands of demons, the atmosphere was calm and no wind was blowing, so we could not witness this awe-inspiring sight. Although my friends were assuring me that no harm was ever done to travellers, yet I doubt. As our way lay through a jungle of these thousands of hillocks, I feel certain that there was always the danger of passers by getting buried under the whirling sand. Crossing one more stream our road took the right bank of the Mabja river. This is also a tributary of Kosi. It took half an hour to reach the open valley of Mabja. We sighted from a distance the old monastery of Chhondu—once famous for Vinaya, but now in a dilapidated condition. We did not reach it before sun-set. The place was covered with a kind of thorny bushes. Though Chhondu looked very near to our eyes, it was far away and this was only the usual optic deception in Tibet. The atmosphere was also clear.

Chhondu is on the left bank of Mabja river. The hills are miles away from it. Apart from dilapidated monastery and stupas there are about twenty houses. But the soil cut by temporary streams made by heavy rain appeared as so many walls. This is why from a distance the village looked big and imposing. Leaving our caravan behind we three, including the head mule-teen, reached first. At several places we begged for our night-shelter, but always the answer was in the negative. The narrow lane of the village is in many places made deep by water passing through the hard earth, which may as well be called soft stone. Hence I was afraid our ponies may get encased. With great reluctance we were allowed to stay in the soldier's resting house on the condition that we used only the half roofed outer-room and not the other rooms. There was plenty of fodder and abundant fuel of the thorny bush. Seeing five strangers in a quaint costume the whole village gathered to see the fun. With their laughter and jokes the little room resounded. A big tea pot was put on the stove and we sat around the fire and drank hot tea with a small piece of butter floating on the same.

अनीरवा

We woke up early and departed before sunrise without even taking tea. The next village on the other side of the stream belonged to my host Kusho Donila at Sa-Skya. Leaving my companions behind I went alone. Kusho and his cham (wife) were

both absent. Kusho was expected at any moment. The old mother at once recognised me and insisted that I should take tea but I saw my companions were proceeding on. So I could not comply with her wish and begging her pardon took leave.

Like so many other places in Tibet Mabja valley also has many ruined villages. On our right side many high stone wall of houses abandoned centuries ago were standing. Extensive cultivation seems to have taken place in those days. Tradition says that the inhabitants of those houses were Bonpos (followers of the Bon religion) and they fought and were banished by Mivangobgyas, the right hand man of the fifth Dalai Lama, in the second half of the 17th century. Going ahead we inquired of a housewife if we could rest a while in her house and take our tea. She gladly invited us but there was no fodder for the animals. We went to the next village Lha-tong, on the other side of the stream. Fodder was available; and we rested there in an open sheep-yard. Mabja is notorious for its strong wind. The valley is long from north to south. That may be the reason why it is easily accessible to the south wind from India. With my previous experience I asked my friends to make the fire inside the small room; they did not agree at first but after half an hour they were forced to take the fire inside.

After two hours rest we started at 1 O'clock. Though the road goes up, yet for more than three miles there is no difficult ascent. After an hour we reached the last village of the locality. People were busy with their field work, as the sowing season was on. From this village the road slightly rises and the whole ground is strewn with large and small pieces of stone.

The real ascent to Dunga is only about half a mile and that too is not difficult, but the high altitude of 18,000 feet was having its effect on our ponies and so every ten or twenty steps, they had to halt and take deep breath. We reached the summit at 3 O'clock. From there we could see to the south the chain of eternally snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas beyond which lay the plains of India. On the north we could see line after line of mountain chains with thousands of naked peaks. We dismounted our ponies and walked down. The descent was longer but not difficult.

We passed a deserted village with one or two half ruined houses and before we reached a suitable village sunlight had al-

ready left us. So abandoning the hope of reaching Sa-Skya we decided to stop in one of the villages. In one village there was no accommodation, in the second there was a good room for the men but the much wanted fodder was not available, the third one had a high mansion of three stories with a big court-yard full of willow trees. Here fodder was available but no room to stay. Cold wind was blowing hard and it was becoming dark. Outside the outer wall there was a small box-like room six feet by six feet with a very low roof. We could not imagine the purpose of this room, but it was the one offered as a night-shelter to six of us including the Tibetan wife of the photographer friend Mr Tejaratna. The accommodation was too little for six of us, but for the fear of the wind and cold we managed anyhow. I had to leave my companions next morning. As I had to stay at Sa-Skya for many weeks, or even months, I had to write letters to several friends that night. The walls of the room were honey-combed, and it was with great difficulty that a candle was lighted for me to write the letters.

Next morning (6 May) Mr Abesingha and myself started earlier. The little waterways were frozen. Willows, which are the only trees in this valley, were just putting forth soft bud-like leaves. After passing a low mountain spur, we could see in the morning sunrays, the four golden roofs of the Sa-Skya monastery surrounded by many stupas and temples. Lhakng Chenmo (the great temple) was still hidden.

At about seven we reached the mansion of our old host Kusho Doni Chhenpo. A warm welcome was awaiting us. The page boy asked me to wait outside till he informed his master, and for this he was scolded—what a foolish boy! After seating me in the highest seat hot tea flavoured with butter was offered in a fine China cup. All the persons in the house were well acquainted with Mr Tejaratna. His cham (wife) Chachhung Kusho Tshering Dolma was not present. She was staying in a lonely place, at a day's journey from Sa-Skya, busy with some medicine. The Kusho ordered his second wife Acha Dikila to prepare the adjoining room for me. Then many questions about my last 18 months' work were fired at me. When he heard that last year I had been to China, Japan, Manchuria and Russia the questions asked were so many that one or two hours were spent in answering them. We were so much taken up with our conver-

sation that we forgot to pay any attention to our luggage, which was yet to be taken over from the muleteer. Though Kusho Doni Chhenpo is a well-known personality in Sa-Skya yet our friends could not find his house. We had to send porters to show them the place.

ELEVEN WEEKS AT SA-SKYA

The monastery of Sa-Skya has played a very important part in the history of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia. It began as a small temple built by Kongyal of the Khon family in the middle of the eleventh century. Kongyal was a layman and he would have been forgotten had his descendants not won a special place for themselves in the religious and political history of Tibet. After Kongyal, a famous traveller Bari Lotsawa is mentioned as the head of that temple. Even today a small temple of Tara exists near the present Dolma palace where Kongyal built his temple. Kongyal's son Kunga Ningpo was the third in succession and since he was the first of the famous five Sakya Gnonma he must have been some great personality. He was not much known for his works but his own son Dagpa Gyaltsan played an important role. A fine scholar of Tibetan he knew Sanskrit and among his translated Sanskrit works is *Nyayamukha* of Dingnaga. He was a great lover of learning. During his time at Sa-Skya many Indian and Tibetan scholars resided there. He is the builder of U-Tse temple, whose massive Cedar pillars show that the builder had great resources. Among the Sanskrit palm leaf manuscripts of this monastery, *Gandavyudha* and *Satasahasrika* were specially written for him. Under his guidance his nephew Kunga Gyal Tshan became the greatest Tibetan scholar. At the end of the 12th century Magadha was overrun by the Turks and Mohammedans, and Bakhtiyar destroyed the two chief centres of Buddhist learning Nalanda and Vikramasila. The Buddhist monks fled to the neighbouring Buddhist countries. Among such refugees was Sakyasri Bhadra—the last abbot of the monastic university of Vikramasila and the preceptor of the Magadha king. He was in Nepal, when Dagpa Gyaltsan heard about him and through Tho Phu Lotsawa he invited him to Sa-Skya. Sakyasri with his companion Indian Pandit stayed at Sa-Skya for many years. Kunga Gyal Tshan became his monk disciple and studied under him the Sanskrit language and liter-

ature, specially logic and philosophy. When Buddhism was dis-appearing from the country of its birth Kunga Gyal Tshan was conquering a new country, Mongolia, for it. It was in 1243 AC that he sent two of his nephews to Mongolia as missionaries. One of them, Phagspa, became his successor after his death. He was invited by China's Mongol Emperor Gotan, and in 1246 became his preceptor. The emperor offered him Central Tibet as a pious gift in 1248. From that time the monastic rule began in Tibet. He died in Mongolia. After him his successors Phagspa and Dharmapala were also monks, but after them all the heads of the Sa-Skya have been laymen. Phagspa built the great temple (Lhakng-Chhenmo) on the other side of the river. It is one of the biggest temples of Tibet. In his time political power of Sa-Skya reached its zenith; after him decline followed. Yet even to this day it has retained its religious influence. Up to this Sa-Skya monastery owns hundreds of villages and is like a protected state.

Our host Doni Chhenpo is a chief officer of Sa-Skya, only the minister of Shape being higher in rank than him. Among the laymen of Sa-Skya he is the most learned person.

Since the last ten generations, Sa-Skya hierarchical family is divided into two branches—Dolma palace and Phunchhog palace. Heads of each succeed to the throne by turn. The head of Dolma palace was the head of the sect and the state till last year when he died. The next October the head of the Phunchhog palace will be formally installed as the head of the sect.

For me Sa-Skya monastery and its branches are most important as almost all Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts are found there. Permission was easily granted and on the third day after my arrival I received the manuscripts for copying. After finishing the fourth chapter of *Varitkalankara* I went to see the present hierarch—the head of Phunchhog palace. He insisted that I should see the Chhagpe Lhakhang (the Manuscripts Library) of Lhakng-Chhenmo, as he had heard about the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts there. When I inquired about it from some other people the prospect appeared not very hopeful, but still I decided to go and see. With the premission of the Dolma palace authorities the seal was broken and the little room on the roof of Lhakhang-Chhenmo was opened, when a thin cloud of dust arose. We entered the room. The whole floor was covered

with half an inch of dust. It seemed that the room had not been opened for fifty years. On the top of the book-shelf we saw birds' eggs. After clearing our throats which were getting choked up by the dust, we began to look around us. On the wooden frames fixed on three sides of the wall thousands of manuscripts were kept. Very few of them were numbered. Some of them in size and appearance looked like Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. After trying several times we felt disappointed, but very soon our hearts were brightened up when in the rack of the left side among the Tibetan manuscripts we found, one after another, many Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. There were 25 bundles of them covered with two wooden boards and bound with very old worn-out leather ropes. After making a cursory investigation we found that there was a complete manuscripts of the *Pramanavartikabhāṣya*, a sub-commentary of the first chapter of the *Pramanavartika* and a complete copy of Asanga's *Yogacara Bhumi*.

With heart full of joy we took the two with us in order to copy them and from 26 May to 6 July my whole time was occupied in this work. After arranging in order and making a descriptive catalogue of all the thirty-eight volumes, on 23 July I took leave of my many kind friends of Sa-Skya—the members of the Doni Chhenpo family and lords and ladies of the two palaces. During my last visit I stayed at Sa-Skya for about three weeks and this time for full eleven weeks; but Sa-Skya is a great store-house of Indian and Buddhist art and culture which cannot be investigated in so short time.

I was alone since my companion departed for Tashilunpo. At Sa-Skya, amongst so many friends, I was quite happy, but travelling in Tibet is a most dangerous job. The hierarch, the lord of Phunchhog palace, offered three mules, with one of his trusted attendants to accompany me up to Shigartse, after visiting Nagor and Shalu monasteries. We started from the palace at 11 AM. After an hour's riding, when we just started to climb the hill, my companion's mule began to jump. Twice he was thrown down. We sent the mule to the palace where the palace horses were grazing, but the man-in-charge was not there, so it could not be exchanged. Chepon-la, my companion, changed the load to this naughty mule, but the other was also not better. Thus with bad luck from the very beginning we proceeded towards the first

pass, Ato-La. After ascending half a mile our luck changed; some Sa-Skya muleteers were returning to their home, and we took one of their in exchange.

July brings the heaviest rain to this part of the country. The rain was not so heavy when we crossed Ato-La, but when we turned towards the second pass Shonga La, a heavy downpour began and it lasted for an hour or so. There was no village to stop and we continued our journey in the rain. For three months of the rainy season, this portion of Tibet is covered with green tiny grass and the whole landscape looks as if a green carpet had been spread on uneven ground. Here another horse-rider met us and we three, with the four animals, proceeded towards Shonga La pass. For many miles the road was very easy, and, it was only after leaving the stream we began to ascend. It was not difficult and very short—not more than half a mile. The descent was also not tiresome and after walking a mile or so, we reached the Dogpa village. Here we stayed in the same room in which I lived during the last journey. There was a great pain on my back. For three months continuously I was busy in copying manuscripts and I had no physical exercise. Though it was the month of July, it was still very cold.

Next day we started after taking our breakfast of parched flour and hot Tibetan tea. There was a slight shower of rain when we started. It continued for three hours. From the Shonga La, the descent was easy till we reached the valley of Tsha-rong river. Travelling in winter is difficult because of the cold, but to travel in rainy season is still more difficult since most of the streams are full and in many places the land is swampy. In some places the roads were also washed away by the torrents. In one place the stream was quite close to the field with an encircling wall. Our mule carrying boxes was walking quite close to the wall in order to avoid the water. There was not sufficient space for the boxes to pass on and so the mule fell down and one of the boxes was thrown into the stream. It contained many valuable manuscripts. With great difficulty we took it out. In two other places the road was worse. In one place we had to cross the river and in another we had a difficult ascent. Before ascending we took a wrong path, but luckily a woman who happened to see us from the other side of the river, forbade us to go by

that way. At 10 O'clock we reached the broad valley of Tsha-rong river. It is a big river. We soon reached Chang Cho, where we decided to take a little rest. The master of a house there was acquainted with my companion. After taking tea we wanted to start but we heard that the river was not passable and there was no ferry boat or bridge nearby. The house master told us that by the evening or the next day water would subside. So we gave up the idea of going further. At the back of the Chang-Cho village there is an old monastery with some stupas and walls still standing in a dilapidated condition. The monastery stands on low land but it looks very old. Before the 12th century all monasteries were built on the plain, but in later days they were built on small hills. After a little while it again began to rain.

On the 25th, after taking our breakfast, we started at 7.30 AM. There was a slight shower which continued till 2 PM. All the streams and waterways were full and the river was also flooded. It was impossible to cross the river anywhere and in order to get the bridge we had to take a longer way traversing 12 miles more. We reached Kyudotog-pa at 9.30 AM. We inquired from the people and learnt that there was very little hope of crossing the river. One man promised us to see it and bring information. So we stayed there for three hours but he did not make his appearance. Two other men were then found. They took us to the bank of the river. One of them, after removing all his clothes, rode one of the mules in order to examine the stream. Twice we were watching with great anxiety and twice our hopes were gone when the water was seen coming up to his neck. After half an hour he returned and informed us that we could pass. The water current was very strong and I was afraid, lest my boxes, full of precious manuscripts would be carried away by the current. At about 2 PM we crossed the river. A little water leaked inside one of my boxes, but the papers were not damaged. I was very pleased to see our things reach the other shore safely. Now our path lay from east to west. This valley is broader than the main valley and it looked like a big plain with swamps here and there. This is the usual thing with the Tibetan valleys during rainy season. When we reached the village of Seng-ge-che, there was still time before sunset, so instead of stopping there, we continued our journey. In the evening we reached the

small village of Shab. With no difficulty we procured lodgings for the night.

Next day we started and passed Chiha-Ch-la pass. There was again a little rain. After we had proceeded a mile, sun-shine came. The ascent to this pass was a long one, but not difficult. On the top of the pass is a new Mani (a thick quadrangular wall with inscribed stones). The descent from there was more difficult. In rainy season there is another difficulty for travellers. The river-beds are strewn with stones of different sizes and all traces of the paths are gone. It is sometimes very difficult to get out of them. In some places swamps make it difficult even for animals to move. On reaching the broad valley there was again rain. So we were obliged to take shelter in a big house of the Tse village where we rested a while and had our tea. From here is a road to Shigartse. It lies to the left. We turned towards another small valley leading to Ta-Tso-La pass. It is a very small pass, only a spur of a mountain. Again rain began and it continued till we reached Ngor monastery at 5.30 PM. Here too it was difficult to find our path. The rain was so heavy that in many places small torrents were fiercely dashing along. Almost in the middle of the stream there was a willow park belonging to the Ngor monastery. The stream would have destroyed the whole garden, if they had not constructed a big wall to prevent this. Some people were still standing by to save the garden if further threatened. Tibetans thought it was not wise to rely upon the labour of men alone however clever they may be. So they placed a row of white spot-like things on the wall, on which several big gods were trying to protect the garden. At that time I had grave doubts if the garden would be saved inspite of the collaboration of gods and men but when, in the month of September, I visited Ngor again I found that no harm had been done to it. How could any harm come when the great gods were helping men in the endeavour.

Ngor monastery was established about 400 years ago and it is one of the Tibetan monasteries famous for the observance of strict discipline by its monks. No woman is allowed to enter the boundary of the monastery. Ngor belongs to the Sa-Skya sect of Tibetan Buddhism whose head is a married lama. Even the wife of this lama is not allowed to enter this monastery. There are about 500 monks in the monastery, with several palatial buil-

dings. The hills behind it are red and perhaps this induced them to select the spot. The monastery had 40 bundles of Sanskrit palm leaf manuscripts originally taken from India. I wanted to take photographs of some of them.

To see such manuscripts is not an easy task in Tibet. They are kept in a house which bears seals of five monastic officials. I inquired if all of them were present, but I heard that the officer-in-charge was not present and he was not coming within a week. Our friends, the two lamas of Kahang-sar, were living in retirement for meditation and for the period of three months no one was allowed to see them. I was offered special privileges. One of them Ku-Ding-Rim po-chhe, an old man of 60, had a little deafness. Last time when I visited Ngor, he was offering me a sum of money to bring an ear-trumpet. I did not accept his money but promised to bring one for him when I would come next time. He was very pleased when I presented him the trumpet. He first thought that I would forget to bring it.

Next day we started for the Shalu monastery by a short cut. The kind lama of Ngor gave us a guide and informed about the road conditions. Those who take this short cut have to go through three passes. The road was very bad. The fields in Tibet are always on the banks of the rivers and often they are destroyed by them. Here too, in order to protect their fields, people had kept ready an army of gods whose places were marked by white stupa-like stones. The first two passes were not very high, but still the road was difficult. The third one was only a pass in name. We reached Shalu monastery at 4 PM. Our friend Risur-Rim-Po Chee was present in his residence. He welcomed us and we were quite at home. I heard that he received two parcels containing books which I sent him from India and Japan, and for which he was very pleased. It was arranged that next day I should go to Ri-fug where palm-leaf manuscripts were kept.

On 28 we went to Ri-fug which is just about a mile from the main monastery, hidden by a spur of the hill. The great scholar Bu-ston passed his last days in this place, after retiring from Sa-Skya monastery. The main shrine was built by him and it contains a statue of the builder. Here all the books are kept under five seals. All the officials were present. The seals were broken

and the gate opened for me. There were 39 bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts including 12 which I saw in my last journey. Among them were found three chapters of *Pramanavartika* and a very important complete commentary on it. Photographic plates were not with me. I had to wait for their arrival. Next day I stayed in the Shalu monastery. The monastery of Shalu was built in the middle of the 11th century. Its style is like the other ancient monasteries in Tibet. In the middle there were either copper or earth of green colour. Here were the original *Kan-jur* and *Tan-jur*, two big collections of Indian works, translated into Tibetan, and which were compiled by Bu-ston in the 14th century. There were some big bronze images originally taken from India or Nepal. In the corridor of the main temple were many beautiful paintings with the artist's name inscribed on some of them.

On 29 we started for Shigartse. We had to cross three streams but they were not very big and water was also not much. After riding five hours, we arrived at Shigartse. I heard that four parcels of photographic materials had arrived at Gyantse and they were expected at any moment.

Next day I visited Tashi-Lumpo monastery, the seat of Tashi Lama. I got my mails of three or four months, since I left Nepal, and the whole night I was busy writing replies. Among the letters there was one informing that Raj Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, our enthusiastic curator of Patna Museum, had died and one from Mr Ghosh himself giving details of the things required for the Patna Museum, and his death, therefore, was a great surprise to me.

The photographic plates of the book *Yogachar Bhumi* and others were developed and I found that only three plates were not successful. Sam-lo Geshe, the great logician of Tashi-Lumpo was very pleased to hear that so many works on Buddhist logic in the original Sanskrit were discovered during my present journey.

On 2 August I went to see a palm-leaf manuscript in Neri-Ri-Thog which was about six miles from Shigartse. The horse which was sent to fetch me was so weak that I could not ride the whole way. On our way we passed a small nunnery called She-rap Choling where about 50 nuns lived. It was famous for the piety and devotion of its nuns. The nunnery was built about three decades ago. In former days on the site of the present monastery of Neri, there was a Nigama monastery which was

~~destroyed on the middle of the 17th century by Zongar Mongol, who came to establish the supremacy of the yellow sect. Afterwards in the ruins of the monastery some nuns made their abode. Yong-zin Rim-Po-Chhe, a teacher of the present Tashi Lama, was attracted by the beauty of the place from where the wide valley of Tsang-po and its silvery stream could be seen. He made the new nunnery for the nuns, in exchange of the place, where he built the present monastery. Yong-zin Lama died about ten years ago. He was not an incarnate lama, but in Tibet any lama, famous for his piety and learning, is rewarded by establishing his incarnation after his death: so we have a boy Yong-zin who is living in the monastery. Before I came to this place I did not know the history of the monastery and its affiliation to the yellow sect, otherwise I would have easily known that there was no possibility of finding old Indian manuscripts in this monastery. It is very seldom we come across an Indian work of art or letters in their monasteries. The yellow sect was established at the end of the 15th century when Buddhism was no more in the country of its birth and so all cultural communications with Tibet and India were at an end. The palm-leaf manuscript which was shown to me was a new Sinhalese manuscript of Parajika Pali. When in 1908 (?) Tashi Lama visited the holy places in India, his teacher, the founder of this monastery also accompanied him. He secured this book from some Sinhalese Bhikshu. The steward of this monastery, on my request, told me that in the next village the pony would be changed and I would get a better one. This I doubted. It actually happened that there was no pony available at that time and I had to manage with the same one again. Clouds were gathering and any moment there was the possibility of rain. In fact both before and after me it was raining. I did not however meet rain and the servant who was accompanying me asked how it was that in the front and behind there was rain, but the place through which I was traversing had no rain. I told him that Gyagar Lama's mission was so great that even the gods dared not interfere. When I reached Do-sun, where all the merchandise for Shigartse coming by river were unloaded from their hide boats, the owner of the pony who was in a drunken state, came and began to shout that he would not allow his pony to be taken to Shigartse. He was making a big noise and many people gathered there to see the fun. At first I hesitated as I didn't know if he was the real owner. In the~~

end I was obliged to leave the pony and proceed on foot. It was evening and three miles more I had to walk. There were no village on the high ways and to travel alone at night in Tibet was dangerous affair, so I walked as swiftly as I could. On the way I met two Tibetans. They asked for money, not as beggars but with some other intention, but they did not force their demand on me because they saw the strap of my camera, which I purposely uncovered, pretending that it was a revolver. I told them that I had no money to give them. My voice was a bit harsh too. I reached Shigartse before twilight.

The photographic material had arrived from Gyantse and we decided to start for Shalu on 5 August. The Sam-lo-Geshe lent us two of his horses and one was provided by a Nepali merchant. When we were crossing the stream, the horse, on which our photographer was riding, could not bear the weight of two persons, the other gentleman also having mounted it to avoid the stream. So in mid-stream the pony tumbled down and both the riders were thrown into the water. Our camera and some materials were on the same horse and we saved them only after much trouble.

The fields were green with their wheat and barley crops. In Tibet every 3rd year the field was left unsown. This was the time when the fields were being prepared for the next season which began in the month of April. Many men and women were busy with their works, the whole valley was echoing with their field songs. Tibetans are very fond of songs and dances. Whenever there was an occasion they do not want to miss them. Even at the harvest time, while harvesting their fields, they leave their work and taking corn in one hand and sickle in the other, they begin to dance around some unharvested part of the field.

Towards the evening we reached Shalu and we stayed there for the night. In Shalu-ri-phug also they have a branch of their settlement. Most of the monks of Shalu live in this retreat in the rainy season which had just begun. Our friend Ri-surh had his residence in this small settlement. He made all arrangements for our stay there. Next day (on the 6th) we shifted there. The place was clean and good. We got a small dark room which we converted for our use. The walls of the small courtyard served as the resting place for palm-leaf manuscripts to be photographed. Our friends of Calcutta sent process-plates for the work, but they did not know the ability of our photographer. First day he took four photographs but

they were all spoilt. Next day again we tried by changing the exposure but still we were not successful.

We were very much disappointed. Fortunately we brought with us forty plates from our own photographer's stock and he was successful with them. I made a descriptive catalogue of all the manuscripts, and began to copy the small commentary on Pramanavartika. The photographing was finished by 12, but the manuscript we were copying had 3,30,000 letters and we found that it would take three weeks to finish it. I inquired from our friend if it would be possible to take the manuscripts with me and to copy it while staying at Gyantse. I was very thankful as he informed me that the officers-in-charge would have no objection. I wanted to go back to Gyantse, where I could communicate with my friends in India to expedite sending photographic materials and continue copying the manuscripts in the meantime. It was quite an unusual thing in Tibet. They do not allow any manuscripts to go out of the monasteries. The important works among the Shalu manuscripts are:

Author	Work
✓ 1. Nagarjuna	Vigraha-Vyavartani Kaarika
2. "	Commentary on the same
3. Bhavya	Tarka Jwala
4. Dharmakirti	<u>Pramanavartika—three chapters only</u>
✓ 5. Manorathanandi	<u>Commentary on Pramanavartika</u>
6. Unknown	Hetuvindu-Anu Tika
7. Gunaprabha	Vinaya Sutra
8. Gunaprabha	Commentary on the above
9. Unknown	Abhidharma-pradipa

We left Shalu on 16 to return to Gyantse. In other seasons the road is good, but in rainy season everywhere the land became swampy and in some places rivers were full to the foot of hills. In one place we were put to great trouble. In order to avoid the torrent, we had to climb a precipitous hill. We stayed at Norbu-Khyungz for the night. The family was very poor. They were complaining that the local magistrate was sucking their blood and there was no escape from its tyrannies and that was why they were left in such a wretched condition.

We reached Gyantse next day. At Ne-Sha, which was on our way, we rested for our breakfast. We heard that there was an old temple of Prajna Paramita at Ne-Sha. We went to see it. It turned out to be a very old structure and the image of Prajna Paramita and many Buddhas were of the old style. They were all made of stucco. The style of the temple, though small, was quite akin to the temples of the imperial period (630-902 AC). This temple was built by the Emperor Ral-pa-chan. In front of the Prajna Paramita temple there was a Vairochana temple. People say that this temple was built by the Emperor Thi-srong-de-chum. Inside the temple there was an image of Vairochana, and eight Bodhisattvas. These images are not so beautiful as the images of Prajna Paramita temple. Prajna Paramita temple is called Yum-lha-Khang in Tibetan. The temple is on the plain. There is another temple in Ne-sha, built by Emperor Srong-tsan, but that temple and its images are not so old; and I doubt even whether there was a temple originally built by the great emperor as it is on the slope of a mountain, whereas all the old temples used to be built on the plain. We reached Gyantse towards the evening.

I was disappointed to see that there was no information about the photographic material. We sent some telegrams and began to copy the manuscripts which the kind custodian of the Shalu monastery lent us for the purpose. We stayed in Gyantse from 17 August to 7 September fully occupied with copying of the three important works by Nagarjuna, Bhavya and Manorathandani. Gyantse has the only British post office where we could get our mails. Though there is a Tibetan postal service between Gyantse and Shalu, it is most unreliable. The British trade-agent resides in Gyantse. At this time he was away at Lhasa. The political condition of Tibet was uncertain and international relations were such that all the bordering powers were trying their best to safeguard their interests. Like other powers Britain was also anxious to do it. I wanted to see the trade-agent, but I heard that the gentleman who was there on my last trip had been transferred to another place.

The Origin of Vajrayana and Its Eighty-four Mystics

I. VAJRAYANA OR MANTRAYANA

VAJRAYANA OR TANTRIC Buddhism, the last phase of Buddhism in India from the 7th to the 12th century AD is also called Mantrayana or the vehicle of incantation. Mantras or incantation-formulae were not new things in India. Even in the Vedas we find formulae like Om, Van-shat, Sran-shat, etc., the recitation of which was essential in Vedic sacrifices, for the magical power. Later on in Brahmana literature, their influence was more enhanced, and we find more such sacrifices for the realisation of luck and happiness. During the time of the Buddha many people made the conducting of such sacrifices the means of their livelihood, the Buddha counted it as one of the means of wrong livelihood. But after the demise of the Buddha, it did not take much time for his disciples to incorporate the same magical powers in his discourse. Thus Buddhist monks began to repeat their sutras for the driving away of disease, demons and ill luck. "Necessity is the mother of invention", and thus in order to satisfy popular demand there came into existence, many sutras such as "Atanatiya", which were exclusively meant for this purpose.

Though the orthodox Theravada school went so far in order

This article was written in 1932 in London and translated into French. The French translation appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* (Paris Tome, CCXXV, No 2) under the title of "Buddhist Researches" in 1933.

All the illustrations of 84 mystics are available from "Rahul-Sangrahalaya".

1. Dighanikaya, I.
2. Dighanikaya,

to satisfy popular demand, it was not sufficient. So other schools, such as Lokattara-vadins, made the Buddha a supermundane deity. Then came Vaipulya-vadins, the prototype of Mahayana—who in order to suppress the human part in the Buddha, composed more elaborate sutras, recitation of which was considered highly beneficial. These sutras were often very lengthy, and difficult to be recited in a short time, so dharanis of few lines were composed for each individual sutra, embodying all its magical powers. A dharani is not a sutra in considered form. The next step from dharanis was the composition of mantras, which were very short, consisting of a few letters like “Om. mune mune mune mahamune svaha”, “Om a a hum”, etc. After some time, mantras became numerous and then came the time for vijas, consisting of a single letter. Lastly in order to make the selection of vijas easier, the whole alphabet—both vowels and consonants—were made vijas or seeds of mantras, as it is found in Manju-sri-namasamgiti; and adding Om in the beginning and Svaha in the end of them, you can make any number of mantras. This is the short way of the evolution of the Buddhist mantra-cult in India. Its time can be divided in the following periods:

Sutras as mantras 400 BC-100 BC

Dharanis as mantras 100 BC-400 AD

Mantras and vijas 400 AD-700 AD

The worship of saints and relics begins with the magical recitation; but except Maitreya, there were no Bodhisattvas known to the older school; it was only with the spread of the Vaipulya doctrine in the first century BC that many mythical Bodhisattvas were introduced into the Buddhist pantheon. Their number was multiplied and from the beginning of the Gupta period in the fourth century AD, some new gods and goddesses were introduced with their images and worships. The popular was more enthusiastic about these innovations. For them the high philosophy, ethical teachings, and absolute self-reliance of primitive Buddhism were not so attractive and convincing, as the worship of these gods and goddesses, and recitation of magical mantras which were in many cases—may be by chance—helpful, and always consoling.

By centuries of the yogic practices, Buddhist monks knew many uncommon psychic powers hidden in man, which can be

developed and manifested in amazing ways, by the strong suggestions and some mental and physical exercises. Joining these psychic practices with the cults of mantras, gods and goddesses, they were able to convince more by performing some of the psychic feats, which were real miracles for the popular mind. Mantrayana and Vajrayana are synonymous, still for the sake of convenience we take Mantrayana as the older form of the mantra-cult, which with its later development became Vajrayana. Their time can be roughly marked—

Mantrayana 400-700 AD

Vajrayana 700-1200 AD

Among the most authentic available books of Mantrayana, *Manjusrimulakalpa* is the oldest, which is counted in Vaipulya-sutras of Mahayana, and that also shows, that Mantrayana has developed from Mahayana which originated in the Andhra³ country. But the *Manjusrimulakalpa* does not teach the esoteric circle with its wine and woman, which are the chief characteristics of Vajrayana. I have shown in another place that *Manjusrimulakalpa* was composed not in North India, but in the South, in Dhanyakataka or Sriparvata.⁴ It emphasised⁵ the desirability of the practice of mantra in these two places. Tibetan records in this point are more clear, which not only proclaimed the sanctity of these places, but say that Buddha first turned the wheel of law concerning Hinayana at Rshipatana (Sarnath, Varanasi) in his first year after Enlightenment; the second time in the thirteenth year after his Enlightenment, he turned the wheel of law concerning Mahayana on the hill of Grddhakuta near Raja-griha; and for the third time in the sixteenth year, he turned the wheel of law concerning Mantrayana at Sri-Dhanyakataka.⁶ Thus Dhanyakataka and the Andhra country were the places of origin of Mantrayana.

That the Andhra country was especially connected with the mantra-cult is also shown by hundreds of references found in

3. See my article "The Origin of Mahayana".

4. Naharalla-badu (Nagarjuna-konda, Guntur District).

5. "Sriparvate mahasaile Dakshinapatha—samjnike.

Sri-dhanyakatake caitye Jinadhatudhare bhuvi.

Siddhyanti tatra mantra vai kshipram sarvartha karmasu", p 88.

6. *Brugpa* Padma-dkarpo's *Chhos-bhyug*, pp 14a-15a.

Sanskrit literature, where Sriparvata is said to be the chief seat of Mantra-cult. In Bhavabhuti's drama *Malatimadhava*⁷ we find, "Danim Sodamini samasadiya accariya manta-siddhi-ppahava siripabbade kavaliavvtam dharedi." In Vana's *Kadambari*, "Sriparvatasarcarya- varta- sahasrabhijana... jaraddra-vida- dharmikena."⁸ And in *Harsha-Carita* (XIII), "sakala- pranayi-manoratha-siddhi Sriparvato Harshah."⁹)

From the above it is clear that during the sixth and seventh centuries Sriparvata was a celebrated place for the mantra-cult. So famous it was that Saudamini, a Buddhist nun went there from the city of Padmavati in Malava. Siddhas or Mystic-magicians are always connected with Sriparvata, and it is not improbable to connect the origin of the word *Siddha* from Sriparvata, which was the residence of Nagarjuna, who in Sanskrit medical works is often mentioned as *Siddha-Nagarjuna*. These Siddhas were known even before the sixth century, as it is proved by *Mricchakatika*⁹ where a prophecy by a Siddha is mentioned. But these earlier Siddhas should not be confused with the later-eighty-four Siddhas of Vajrayana. This mistake is often committed and the result is that, in Tibetan records Nagarjuna is made the disciple of Saraha of the eighth century, thus introducing a discrepancy of 600 years.

Now let us consider the time when the Vajrayana originated. We have seen that the prototype of Vajrayana originated in the Andhra country. Seeing some similarities between the esoteric meetings and rituals of Mithraism and Vajrayana, scholars suspect some connection between the two. Some think that Asanga, who was a native of Peshawar—the seat of the Saka-Kushana empire—was the first propounder of the Tantric Buddhism, since the Sakas, whose rule ended not very long before, were aware of Mithraism in Eastern Persia and Central Asia. From Asanga till the time of Dharmakirti (seventh century) it was a less known secret cult. But even if we accept it, the question arises "was Tantra directly propagated from Peshawar to Magadha through Northern India?" Tantric literature shows us that its oldest text and its chief seat were from and in the Northern India. If there was any influence from Mithraism to the Tantric Buddhism

7. *Malatimadhava* I, also *ibid*, VII and X.

8. Page 399 (Nirnayasagar press, seventh edition).

9. Aryaka-nama Gopala- darakah siddhadesana samadishto raja bhavishyati" (*ibid*, II).

through Sakas, it is more likely to be through the Andhras. During the second and third century Saka power was centred in Malwa and Gujrat, and the Sakas were closely connected by marriage ties with the Andhras. From the Ajanta paintings also we see some intercourse between these two peoples. It is quite possible that those influences were first secretly propagated, and a few centuries later they took strong root and became more evident. But this is all guess work. It is more feasible to accept Andhra as the original place for the Tantric Buddhism with here and there some traits of foreign influence.

From *Nikaya-sangraha*¹⁰, a Sinhalese historical work of the fourteenth century we get some more information about it. There Vajrayana is known as Vajra-parvata school, since most of their books mentioned therein can be identified with the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the well-known Vajrayana works. In *Nikaya-sangraha* the following works are mentioned belonging to the Vajra-parvata-cult:

<i>Gudha-Vinaya</i>	
<i>Mayajalatantra</i>	(Nanjio's ¹¹ 1061, Ska-hgyur 84:10)
<i>Samajatantra</i>	(Guhyasamajtantra, ska ¹² 83:2)
<i>Mahasamayatatva</i>	
<i>Tattva-sangraha</i>	(ska 25:8)
<i>Bhuta-camara</i>	(?Bhutadamara) (ska 93:8)
<i>Vajramrta</i>	(ska 82:12)
<i>Cakrasamvara</i>	(ska 80:1, 3)
<i>Dvadasa-cakra</i>	(?Kalacakra, ska 79:3, 4)
<i>Bherukadbudaya</i>	(?Herukadbhuta, ska 81:2)
<i>Mahamaya</i>	(ska 82:3)
<i>Pada-nikshepa</i>	
<i>Catuhpishta</i>	(?catuh-pitha, ska 82:6, 8)
<i>Paramarda</i>	(?Mahasahasrapramardini, ska, 91:1)
<i>Maricyudbhava</i>	
<i>Sarba-Buddha</i>	(?Sarva-Buddha-samayoga, ska, 79:6)
<i>Sarba-guhya</i>	(?Krodharaja-sarvaguhyā—tantra, ska 82:11)
<i>Samuccaya</i>	(?Vajra-jnana-samuccaya, ska 83:5)
<i>Maha-marici-kalpa</i>	

10. *Nikaya-sangraha* (Colombo 1932).

11. Nanjio Nanjio's catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka.

12. Catalogue of Snar-thang Tibetan Ska-hg ur.

*Heramba-kalpa**Trisamaya kalpa* (?Trisamaya-vyuha-raja tantra, ska 88:4)*Rajakalpa* (?Paramadhikalpa-raja)*Vajra-Gandhara Kalpa**Marici Kalpa**Guhya-kalpa* (?Guhyaparamarahasya-kalpa-raja, ska 86: 1)*Suddha-Samuccaya-kalpa* (?sarvakalapa-samuccaya,
ska 79:1)

From the identity of literature, it is evident that Vajrayana and Vajra-parvata schools are the same; and it is not impossible to suggest that Vajra-parvata was another name for Sriparvata, since it was the most sacred place and the centre of that school.

Now according to the *Nikaya-sangraha*, during the reign of the King Mat-va-la-sena (846-66 AD) a monk of Vajra-parvata school went to Ceylon, and lived in the monastery of Virankura. The king was so influenced by him that he accepted Vijiriya (=Vajrayana) view. Then began the propagation of Ratnakuta¹³ etc. in Ceylon. Afterwards his successor, though he took steps¹⁴ to check it, it was not possible to uproot it since it was a secret cult. Thus in the ninth century we find Vajrayana prevalent in Ceylon. During the end of the tenth century Ratnakarasanti, one of the eighty-four mystics, was especially invited¹⁵ by the king of Ceylon, and he went and resided there for seven years.¹⁶ In the first quarter of the eleventh century Atisa (Dipankara Srijnana) visited Ceylon.¹⁷

Those who are acquainted with the portrait of Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Rta-nag should know that they used to wear a kind of blue jacket. This blue jacket had a special significance with Vajrayana of early days. In the *Nikaya-sangraha* there is a story about the blue garment, which accidentally sheds light on the origin of the blue-garment-cult. It says,¹⁸ when Kumaradasa (515-24) was ruling in Ceylon, in those very

13. A class of Mahayana-sutras.

14. "Saddhama- patirupanam disva loke pavattanam. Gunhapesi tathrakham sagarante samantato."

15. "Rin-po cheshi hbyung- khrungs-Ita-buhi-gtam", p 45 b.

16. Ibid.

17. "Guru-guna-ratnakara" by Brom-ston-pa (Lhasa).

18. Ibid.

days King Sriharsa was reigning in South Madhura. At this time a loose-charactered monk of the Sammitiya school wearing the blue garment went to the house of a courtesan. He could not return in the night, so when the next morning he was returning to his monastery, the disciples asked him why he wore a blue garment. He propounded the great spiritual merit of the colour of the cloth. Thenceforth, his followers began to wear blue garments (Nilapata). In their book *Nilapata-darsana* it is written:

“Veshya ratnam suraratnam ratnam devo Manobhavah,
Etadratnatrayam vande anyat Kacamanitrayam.”

From the Vajrayana works *Guhyasamaja*¹⁹, *Prajnopaya-viniścaya-siddhi*²⁰ and *Jnana-siddhi*²¹, we know about the women and wine cult of the Vajrayana, and thus follows the identity of the Vajrayana with the *Nilapata* sect.

From the above, after discarding some exaggeration and prejudices, we can accept this that the Vajrayana originated in the sixth century in South India and among the monks of the Sammitiya sect. In my article about “The Origin of Mahayana”, I have shown that this sect played a great part in the origin and development of Mahayana. It seems that it played the same part in the origin of the Vajrayana. Until the beginning of the eighth century it mostly remained in South India, and it was with the arresting personality and propaganda of Saraha and others that it was able to assert itself in the north.

When the monasteries and temples were being filled with wealth by the pious offerings of the multitude, a monk's life was more comfortable than a layman's. Discipline was weakened and many unworthy persons entered the brotherhood. During this period of plenty between the fourth and seventh centuries, and under the powerful rule of the Guptas, Maukharis and Vayasas, the art, poetry and the philosophy reached their perfection; and the Buddhist monasteries became great centres for them. The life of ease with the cultivation of the sensuous art under cover of the sculptors, paintings and meditation on gods and

19. *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, Baroda, pp 27, 94, 120, 136.

20. *Ibid*, 5:22-25.

21. *Ibid*, 1:14-15, 18, 82; 2:42.

goddesses, was bound to attract the minds of monks towards sensuous feelings. Already from the *Kathavatthu* (23:1) we know that the Andhaka schools were in favour of allowing *Maithuna* with a special object; this was included in the above mystic cult. Thus from the south, the use of mantras, psychic practices and sensual indulgence joined together and Vajrayana was complete.

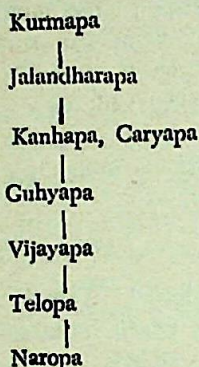
II. THE EIGHTY-FOUR MYSTICS (SIDDHAS)

As I have already mentioned, Tantric Buddhism or Proto-Vajrayana was originated in South India some time in the sixth century. But until the time of the earliest of the eighty-four Siddhas we do not find much about Vajrayana. Both the Chinese travellers Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing are silent about it. So it is safe to say that the time, in which Vajrayana wielded great influence in the north coincides with the time of the eighty-four Siddhas. Below is given a genealogical tree of most of them based on Tibetan²² records:



22. It is mostly based on many genealogical trees given in *Sa-Skya bka-hbum*—the collected works of five hierarchs (1091-1279 AD) of Sa-skya, which is printed from the block of Cter-gyi monastery in Kham (Eastern Tibet). On page 65 of the *Pa* volume (the work of Phags-pa, 1233-79) we find the genealogy of the succession of disciples from *Saraha* to *Naropa*.

I have also derived help from *Caturasiti-siddha-ppravrtti* (Stan-hgyur, 86:1, cordier p 247). The latter portion of it is based on a Tibetan historical work "*Rin-po-che-i-Hbyung-Khrung-lta Ba i gtam*", the last few pages of which are missing, so it is not possible to give the name of the author and the place where it was printed, but from the style, I suspect it is a work of the Lama Taranatha—*Ganga*, Archaeology Number, 1933.



Before discussing the date of Saraha and of the last of the eighty-four Siddhas, it will be helpful to give the list of eighty-four Siddhas in numerical order with their caste, country etc., according to *Caturasiti-siddha-ppravrtti* of Stan-hgyur (see pp 123-27).

Though in the list given which is a standard list, we find Luipa as the first of the Siddhas, yet the list has nothing to do with the chronological order; as it is clear from the genealogical tree. In the present genealogical tree I was not able to trace the relation of all the eighty-four Siddhas, but the foremost of them were Saraha, Sabarapa, Luipa, Darikapa, Vajraghantapa (or Ghantapa), Jalandharapa, Kanhapa, Telopa, Naropa and Santipa. Chronologically, however, Saraha was the first. Dr B. Bhattacharya²³ has put the date of Saraha as 633 AD. Of course from the meagre materials at his disposal, it was difficult for him to reach the correct time. From the Tibetan works we know that (1) Saraha was a pupil and co-disciple of Buddhajñana²⁴ and in philosophy he was a disciple of Haribhadra. Haribhadra, the famous commentator of many philosophical works, was a pupil of Santarakshita—the author of *Tattvasamgraha*, who died in Tibet in about 750. (2) Buddhajñana and Haribhadra were both contemporaries²⁵ of the Emperor Dharmapala²⁶

23. *Baroda Oriental Research Series Journal*, Vol 14, part 3, p 349.

24. Sa-Skya Bka-hbum, *Plu*, pp 212b-17a.

25. *Ibid*.

26. According to Professor B. C. Bhattacharya 744-800 AD.

The Origin of Vajrayana and Its Eighty-four Mystics

123

LIST OF EIGHTY-FOUR Siddhas

Name	Caste	Country	Contemporaries
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Luipa ¹	Kayastha	Magadha	King Dharmapala (769-809 AD) Third from Saraha
2. Lilapa			
3. Virupa		Magadha ²	King Devapala (809-49 AD)
4. Dombhiipa	Kshatriya	Magadha	Luipa's (1) disciple
5. Sabarapa			Saraha's (8) disciple and Lui's teacher
6. <u>Sarabapa</u>	<u>Brahmana</u>	Nalanda	King Dharmapala (769-809 AD)
7. Kamkalipa ³	Sudra	Magadha	
8. Minapa	Fisherman	Kamarupa	Jaladhara's (46) disciple, father of Matsyandra, the teacher of Goraksha (9)
9. Gorakshapa			King Devapala (809-49 AD)
10. Corangipa			Goraksha's (9) co-disciple
11. Vinapa	Prince	Gauda (Bihar)	Disciple of Bhadrapa, who was Kanhapa's disciple
12. <u>Sanitipa</u> ⁴	Brahmana	Magadha	Mahipala (974-1026 AD)
13. Tantipa			Disciple of Jalandhara (46)
14. Camaripa	Cobbler	Vishmunagara (in the east)	
15. Khadgapa	Sudra	Magadha	
16. <u>Nagarjuna</u>	<u>Brahmana</u>	Kanchi	Disciple of Carpati (59) Disciple of Saraha (6)

1. Luhipa.

2. "Country of Devapala" in the text.

3. Kamkalipa.

4. Ratnakarasanti of Vikramasila.

(Continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
17. Kanhapa	Brahmana	Karnataka	King Devapala (809-49 AD)
18. Kamaripa (= Aryadeva)		Nalanda	Disciple of Nagarjuna (16)
19. Thaganapa	Sudra	Eastern India	Teacher of Santipa (12)
20. Naropa ⁵	Brahmana	Magadha	King Mahipala (974-1026 AD)
21. Salipa ⁶ or Silapa	Sudra	Bhagunagara	Teacher of Naropa (20)
22. Tilopa	Brahmana	Nagara	
23. Chatrapa	Sudra	Manidhara ⁷	Third from Saraha (6)
24. Bhadrapa	Brahmana		
25. Dokhandipa			
26. Ayogipa	Grihapati	Saliputra	Third from Avadhutipa (11 century)
27. Kalapa	Washerman	Rajapura	
28. Dhombhipa		Saliputra	
29. Kamkanipa	Prince	Vishnunagara	
30. Kamaripa ⁸	Prince	Orissa	Disciple of Vajraghanta (52)
31. Dembipa	Brahmana	Orissa	Disciple of Lui (1)
32. Badepa		Sravasti	Disciple of Kanhapa (17)
33. Tandhe (= Tanti)pa ⁹	Sudra	Kausambi	
34. Kukkuripa	Brahmana	Kapila (vastu) country	Teacher of Minapa (8)
35. Kuci ¹⁰ (= Kasuli) pa	Sudra		

5. Died in 1039 AD (see JRAS, Bengal, 1889, Vol LVII, p 100).

6. Srigalipada of "Baudha Gan Doha".

7. Modern Mailhar in Rewa state?

8. Kamalipa.

9. Tantra of Baudha Gana.

10. Gunjari of "Baudha Gana".

The Origin of Vajrayana and Its Eighty-four Mystics

125

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
36. Dharmapa	Brahmana	Vikrama (-sila) c.	Disciple of Kanhapa (17) and Jalandhara
37. Mahi (Mahila) pa	Sudra	Magadha	Disciple of Kanhapa (17)
38. Acintipa	Wood-cutter	Dhanirupa?	
39. Bhalahapa	Kshatriya	Dha...ra c.	
40. Nali (na) pa	"	Saliputra	
41. Bhusukupa	Prince	Nalanda	King Devapala (809-49 AD)
42. Indrabhuti	King	Lankapura	Disciple of Ananga (81) and Kamari- pa (80)
43. Mekopa	Merchant	Bhargala ¹¹	Disciple of Santipa (12)
44. Kuthalipa ¹²		Ramesvara	Disciple of Avadhuti (?)
45. Kamarapa ¹³	Blacksmith	Saliputra	Teacher of Kanhapa (17) and Malsy
46. Jalandharapa	Brahmana	Nagara Bho	Third from Saraha (6)
47. Rahulapa		Kamarupa	Fourth from Virupa (3)
48. Gharbaripa ¹⁴		Saliputra	
49. Dhokaripa	Sudra	Lakhapuja?	Fourth from Lila (2)
50. Medinipa ¹⁵			Disciple of Nagarjuna (16)
51. Pamksipapa	Brahmana	Varendra	King Devapala (809-49 AD)
52. (Vajra) Ghuntapa	Kshatriya	Udantapuri	Disciple of Sabara (5)
53. Jogipa	Dom	Bhargalapura	Disciple of Avadhuti
54. Celukapa	Sudra		
11. Modern Bhagalpur district.			
12. Kuddalipa (?) of "Baudha Gana O Doha".			14. Ghabharipa.
13. Kamparipa.			15. Halipa (?).

(Continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
55. Gundaripa ¹⁶	Birdhunter	Disunagara	Disciple of Lila (2)
56. Lucikapa	Brahmana	Bhargala c.	
57. Nirgunapa	Sudra	Eastern country	
58. J-yanauta	Brahmana	Bhagala (-pura)	Teacher of Minapa (8)
59. Carpatipa ¹⁷	Peddler	Campa	
60. Campakapa ¹⁸		Campa	
61. Bhikhanapa	Sudra	Saliputra	
62. Bhalipa	Butter seller ¹⁹	Satapuri	
63. Kumaripa		Jomanasi c.?	Third from Kanhapa (17)
64. Jabaripa ²⁰	Housemaid	Magadha	Disciple of Kukkuripa (34)
65. Manibhadra ²¹	Householder's	Agacnagara?	Disciple of Kanhapa (17)
66. Mekhala ²²	daughter		"
67. Kamkhala ²³		Bhiralinagar?	
68. Kalakalapa	Sudra	Manidhara	Disciple of Kanhapa (17)
69. Kantalipa ²⁴	Tailor	Dhekara c.?	
70. Dbahulipa ²⁵	Sudra	Devikota	Disciple of Karnaripa (18)
71. Udhalipa ²⁶	Merchant	Rajapuri	
72. Kpalapa ²⁷	Sudra		
16. Gorurapa.		22. Female Siddha.	
17. Pacaripa.		23. Female Siddha.	
18. Khur-ba Tshong-pa.		24. Kanthalipa.	
19. Mar-nag Tshong-pa=seller of black butter.		25. Dhahuripa, Davadipa of "Baudha Gana o Doha"?	
20. Cavaripa, Ajapalipa.		26. Udhuripa.	
21. Female Siddha.		27. Kamalapa.	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
73. Kilapa	Prince	Prahara city?	
74. Sagarapa	King	Kanchi	
75. Sarvabhakshapa	Sudra	Orissa	Disciple of Sahara (5) and Bhusuku (41)
76. Nagabodhipa	Brahmana	Western India	Disciple of Nagarjuna (16)
77. Darikapa	King	Orissa	Disciple of Luipa
78. Putulipa	Sudra	Bhargala c.	
79. Panabapa ²⁸	Cobbler	Sa...nagara	
80. Kokalipa	Prince	Camparana	
81. Anangapa	Sudra	Gauda	Third from Dombi
82. Lakshmikara	Princess	Sambhahnagara	Sister of King Indrabhuti (42)
83. Samudapa		Sarvadira ²⁹ c.?	
84. Bhalipa ³⁰	Brahmana	Apatra c.?	

28. Upanahapa.

29. Sarvara or districts of Gorakhpur and Basti.

30. Byalipa.

(769-809). (3) Savarapa,²⁷ the disciple of Saraha was the teacher of Luipa, and Luipa in his early life was a clerk or Kayastha of Emperor Dharmapala.²⁸

Thus we are forced to put Saraha after the time of Santarakshita, and we can take him to be a contemporary of the Emperor Dharmapala, and the probable date of the beginning of his career can not be before 750. The time, from the first quarter of the sixth century—when the Nilapata cult originated in the south—until 750 can be taken as the intermediary period for the development of the Vajrayana from Mantrayana. With the work of Saraha in the middle of the eighth century, begins the conquest of North Indian Buddhism by Vajrayana. It reached its zenith by the time of the Emperor Devapala (809-49), in whose reign the greatest of the Siddhas Virupa (3), Goraksha (9), Bhusuku (41), Vajraghanta (52), Jalandhara (46), and Kanhapa (17) with his many disciple-Siddhas (32, 36, 37, 66, 67, 69, 71) flourished. It was this monarch, who built the famous monastery of Vikramasila, before which the glory of Nalanda faded, and which became the great centre of Vajrayana, where students not only from the different corners of India, but even from Tibet came to learn mystic lore.

As the genealogical tree of all the eighty-four Siddhas is not yet complete, we cannot say exactly, who was the last of them. But if provisionally we take Kalapa (27) as the last we may not be far from the truth. Kalapa was a disciple of Celukapa (54) whose teacher was Avadhutipa or Matripa (Advaya-vajra). The latter was the teacher of Atisa Dipankara Srijnana, who died in 1053 in Tibet. Thus we can take the end of the eleventh century as the time of Kalapa with whom the list of the eighty-four Siddhas becomes complete. Though the period of 750 to 1100 was the time of the eighty-four Siddhas, it does not mean that afterwards there were no Siddhas, and that the Vajrayana declined. We find a great Siddha Mitrayogi or Jaganmitrananda at the end of the twelfth century. About twenty of his works were translated into Tibetan, and are still preserved in Stan-hgyur. Like all the other Siddhas he was also a great poet of the old Eastern Hindi. Among his works *Padaratnamala* and

27. Sa-Skya Bka-hbum, *Pha*, p 212b.

28. Ibid, *Ja*, p 243a.

Yogisva-cittagranthakopadesa seem to be Hindi poems. His latter Candrarajalekha, which was written to King Candra is preserved in Stan-hgyur. Tshul-khrims of Gñub and Byams-pahi-dpal of Khro-phu were his two Lochava translators. After the prayer of Khro-phu Lochava, in the year 1197 he went to Tibet²⁹ from Nepal, and stayed there for 18 months. This Khro-phu was the same person who brought Sakya-sri-Bhadra, the abbot of Vikramasila, to Tibet in 1199, after the destruction of that monastery by Mahammad-bin-Bakhtiar.

King Candra to whom Mitrayogi wrote his letter, was no other personality than the Gahadvar King Jayachandra (1170-94). In an inscription³⁰ of Bodh-Gaya, in which both the names Mitra³¹ and Jaganmitra³² are given, he is mentioned as a chief of the Siddha family³³, and preceptor of Jayachandradeva, the king of Kasi³⁴. The non-inclusion of such highly respected Siddha³⁵ as Mitrayogi, among the eighty-four Siddhas, also shows that by that time the list of 84 was complete.

In another paper of mine, I have given the short life stories and works of most of the eighty-four Siddhas, and I shall not repeat them here. By the end of the twelfth century, Turkish invaders destroyed the great Buddhist religious centres such as Nalanda, Udantapuri and Vikramasila, and the Buddhist monk leaving Northern India, fled to the border countries of Nepal, Tibet, Orissa and others. In the thirteenth century, the Vajrayana form of Buddhism was still lingering, but by the end of the fourteenth century many of its followers either merged into Brahmanism or accepted the faith of Islam. Some, for the sake of self-preservation changed their outer appearances, but kept the inner identity; but as the time went on, they forgot most of their tradition, and now were known by the name of Naiha-pantha, they are spread over the whole of India from Kabul to Bengal, and from the Himalayan tracts to Maharashtra. But now, except for

29. R.A.S.R. of Bengal. 1889, Vol LVIII, p 1.

30. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1927, pp 14-30.

31. "Sri Mitra nama paramavadhutah."

32. "Soyam Srimaj-Jaganmitrah."

33. "Siddhanavaya- dhurya -bhutah."

34. "Jayacandradeva... Kasisa- dikshaguruh".

35. *Ganga*, Archaeology Number, 1932.

some Buddhist phraseology and veneration of a few of the eighty-four Siddhas, they have become entirely Brahmanised.³⁶

36. The study of Tantric Buddhism or Vajrayana is most helpful for— (1) the knowledge of the last development of Buddhism in India; (2) for finding the internal causes, by which Buddhism was destroyed in India; (3) for the Iconographical research of Buddhist images of that period, which are scattered throughout Northern India, especially in UP, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa; (4) for the study of the origin of the mystic cult and the poems of the Natha sect and Kabir; (5) for throwing off light on the strange rituals and ceremonies of the tantric cult; (6) for the historical study of yoga, psychic practices, magic and demonology in India; (7) for throwing some light on those weaknesses, which made Hindus to succumb before the Mahammedan invaders; (8) for the study of the history of Pala and Gahadvar dynasties; (9) for the historical study of Hindi literature, the specimens of whose earliest poems, are found in Dohakosas and Gitis of Saraha, Kanha and other Siddhas; (10) for the historical study of Lamaism or Buddhism of Tibet and Mongolia.

Most of the materials for this research is found in the Tibetan language. But in order to utilise materials certain discriminations are essential. All such materials can be divided into four periods:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Khri-srong-lde-btsan to Ral-pa-can | 719-900 AD |
| 2. Atisa and his followers | 1041-1117 AD |
| 3. Sa-Skya hierarchs and Bu-Ston | 1141-1364 AD |
| 4. Later | 1400 AD |

All the material belonging to the first period belonged to the Nig-ma sect, which from a very early time until now is unscrupulous in the tampering and the forging of historical documents. To extol Padmasambhava, about whom the most that can be said is that he was one of the followers of Santarakshita, they left no stone unturned. It does not mean that the historical material of that period is worthless, but only that it should be discarded. The material of the second period is not plentiful, but the works of Brom-ton, Rta-nag and others are most reliable. The third period is very rich and also reliable. Sa-Skya Bka-hbum, the works of the five great Sa-Skya hierarchs and the voluminous writings of Bu-ston (1290-1364) are most helpful. With the end of this period the relation of Tibet with the living Buddhist India ceases. The works of the fourth period do not give firsthand information about Indian Buddhism. They have derived their information from earlier records (mostly of the second and the third periods), or have been taken from heresy and their own imaginations. The works of Brug-pa Pad-ma dkar-po (b. 1526) are superfluous and full of the defects mentioned above. Bla-ma Taranatha is more painstaking, but he relies more on those stories which he gathered from Nepal and Indian wanderers in Tibet. The later works of Ge-lug-pa writers have the same defects. Therefore in utilising any material from the above sources, one should not regard them as equal value.

Renaissance of Buddhism in the East

AFTER HUNDRED YEARS of the death of the Buddha in 483 BC, the Buddhist Church became divided into two sects; and within another 120 years, at the time of the beginning of the Asokan rule there were 18 schools in existence in India. There were so many divisions and subdivisions that diversity pales into insignificance when compared with the later development. All these changes took place in Northern India. But during the next three centuries under the patronage of the Andhra emperors, South India became the great field of Buddhist activities; and after the speculations and doctrinal controversies of centuries they developed into a system of thought, which is now known as the Mahayana. The scattered thoughts belong to it were systematised in the philosophical form by Nagarjuna in the south in the second century AD, and by Asanga in the north-west in the fourth and the fifth centuries. About the second century (AD) onward the new school began to move towards the north. It was slowly gaining ground, but by the advent of great logicians and philosophers such as Dignaga and his followers, all the older schools were subdued, and by the end of the sixth and the seventh centuries almost all the Buddhist monastic institutions were converted into Mahayanic ones.

But by the time Mahayana succeeded in its great attempt, from within there arose a movement (which was) introducing more sweeping changes. This was the Tantric school of Buddhism. It was also originated in the south, amongst the mystics but afterwards those theories and psychic suggestions degenerated into gross sensual abuses. This extreme form of Tantric Buddhism

This lecture was prepared by Rahulji in 1932 for the Buddhist gathering in London in Buddhist Mission Hall. It is not published in any journal.

which is also known as Vajrayana or vehicle of thunderbolt, was first propagated secretly, but by the middle of the eighth century it became very strong under the leadership of the great poet-mystic Saraha and his followers, and in about another hundred years Mahayana was forced to make a compromise with it. With the increase of its popularity, gross moral abuses and superstitions also increased. Except for a very few, the real teachings of the Buddha became unknown; and monks and laymen both became propounders and great admirers of witchcraft, magic and grossly obscene ritual and symbolism. This undermined the whole edifice of Buddhism in India. The whole foundation became rotten, and by the end of the twelfth century it collapsed. Buddhist monasteries and their great educational centres such as the monastery of Nalanda, Udantapuri and Vikramasila were raged to the ground. The leaders of the Buddhist thought namely, the Buddhist monks, left India and fled to Nepal, Tibet and other bordering countries. By the end of the 14th century, it became assimilated by Brahmanism or the adherents accepted Mohamadanism.

Thus, from the 14th century, Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth. From the 13th to the 15th century, the political firmament of the Northern India was full of unrest and bloodshed. Ancient cities were destroyed, villages were devastated and people were massacred. Those who survived fled from their villages. During these three centuries, the population decreased. Slowly the ancient villages and cities were devoured by thick forest in which roamed tigers and elephants. Some of the clans and castes still remembered their original home; but the distance of fifteen and twenty generations in time, and hundreds of miles in distance made them forget the whereabouts of those places. In the centuries which followed, their own debris covered the ruins. From the 16th century the population began to increase, but not until the 18th century, it was sufficient to repopulate the country. In fact it was from the beginning of the last century that the jungle grown old, ruined localities were recovered. The above fact is seen from most of the villages in the United Province (modern Uttar Pradesh) and Bihar which are not older than two centuries. That is the reason when from the last two decades of the last century, historians and archaeologists began to enquire about the many ancient sites, the local people could

~~not give any information. For their own satisfaction they told some stories of anger of gods and the devils which were responsible for the neighbouring old ruins, but they could not remember even the name of the places. Thus the big city of Sravasti with its Jetavana-Vihara became modern Sahet-Mahet or the city turned upside down from the fault of a king, which fault brought the curse of gods. The famous Nalanda with its vast ruins, became simply Bara-gaon or big village. This is true that not only of Buddhist sites which can be accounted for the disappearance of Buddhism from India, but also it is true with regards to many famous places connected with the Hindu and the Jaina religions, Alambikapuri Prithudaka, Ahicchatra were totally forgotten by the Jainas and the Hindus.~~

Though the English rulers of India became interested in the Indian history and the ancient monuments, from the last decade of the 18th century, when the first volume of *Asiatic Researches* was published, it was only by the epoch-making discovery and the decipherment of the Asokan inscriptions and the Brahmi characters and alphabets by a French scholar in the middle of the last century, and by the extensive tour, excavations and researches of General Cunningham which also began from the same time. Because of all these archaeological finds a great stir was made in the circle of the foreign scholars. The investigation of Indian religion and the translation of its literature also came to its help of which progress was very slow until the eighties of the last century, and with the birth of national consciousness the educated classes became interested in it. As almost all the ancient ruins discovered in UP and Bihar were connected with Buddhism and they abound with thousands of beautiful Buddhist images, it was a revelation for the educated Indian that, a few centuries before, Buddhism was everywhere prevalent. Every new exhibition of magnificent Buddhist monuments and the publication of the Buddha's noble and sublime life and teaching won the respect of the educated Indians, and the echo of the hatred towards Buddhism, which was still preserved in the Brahmanical literature, speedily died down. With beginning of the present century the work of the Indian Archaeological Department was well systematised and extended, historians then began to reconstruct the Indian history on the basis of those discoveries. In every field of the national achievement, the con-

tribution of Buddhism was not only marvellous in quality but also surpassing all in quantity. Every decade brought a new astonishment. They saw the noble teaching of their own Buddha, admired and accepted from Baikal to Bali, from Japan to Ceylon. The Buddhist monuments and remains of Java, Cambodia, Central Asia showed them the extension of the realm of Buddhism. Now, not a single educated Hindu can be found without profound respect for the Buddha. In the great festivals at the sacred places as Kushinara, Sarnath, Jetavana, etc., every year thousands of people take part. People now have a great desire to know the teachings of the Buddha. Now temples and societies are being opened for the propagation of Buddhism. Everywhere there is a great sign of the revival of Buddhism, and after forty years of ceaseless work, the Anagarika Dharmapala is now quite happy in his closing years of life.¹

Nepal: At a very early time Buddhism was introduced into Nepal. When after the Mohamadan conquest of India, Buddhism disappeared from there; it still prevailed in that country. Most of the Buddhist canonical works on philosophy and written in Sanskrit were found there, though the whole of the last century was a period of slothfulness and inactivities on the part of the Buddhists there, that state has now changed and the young Buddhist Nepalese are awakening.

Tibet: During the seventh and the eighth centuries Buddhism was introduced into Tibet. With the introduction of Buddhism not only the history of Tibet began, but with it Tibet received the art of writing grammar, literature, philosophy, astronomy and medicine. Before that time the nation was undeveloped and the Tibetan language was too poor to be a vehicle of deep psychological and philosophical thought. Buddhism did impose upon them the compulsion of a foreign language for the study of its scripture. Thus, following the injunction of the master, they began to translate the whole Buddhist literature into Tibetan, and in order to do it accurately and successfully, they modelled the Tibetan language and grammar on the Sanskrit pattern. Tibetan translations, in conveying the exact idea with the nearest original form, have no second in the world. Hundreds of works which unfortunately are lost in the original language, can be very easily

1. Anagarika Dharmapala has since died.

ly restored having 75 per cent of the original words. Now Tibetan is so rich in vocabulary, that any kind of literature can be translated into it.

The eighth and ninth centuries formed the great age of translations. In those days the different Viharas of the Sam-ye monastery were occupied by Indian and Tibetan monks-scholars who were busy with the work of translation. These early times are golden days in the history of Tibetan Buddhism not only for pursuits in the literature and art, for meditation and calm life, but even to live the extreme ideal of the Bodhisattva. Emperor Mu-ne-tsan-po (826-27) ordained that all men should share equally in the wealth of the country. An equal division was made, but the equality soon disappeared. Yet twice again all were made to have equal shares of property. After the third attempt the king was poisoned by his mother.²

It should be remembered that in those days Tibet was not a small principality but in its empire were included many provinces of China, the northern portion of Burma, most of the Himalayan districts of India from Assam to Gilgit and Chinese Turkestan.

In the 11th century Tibet was again infused with new life by the Indian teacher Atisha (981-1053) and the great mystic poet Mi-la-Ras-pa (1039-1122). After the destruction of the monastic university of Vikramasila (India), its chief abbot Sakya-Sri-Bhadra (1126-1224) went to Tibet; and there he stayed for more than nine years (1203-1212) at the monastery of Sa-Skya. Now Sa-Skya became the great centre of Buddhist activities. Many books were translated from Sanskrit to Tibetan. In the year 1221, Buddhism was introduced into Mongolia, whose ruler Chenghiz Khan (1162-1227) was ruling from the Pacific to the Caspian. Twenty-one years later (in 1242) Phags-pa and Phyag-na, two nephews of Sa-skya hierarch Kun-dga-Gyal-mtshan, themselves went to Mongolia for the preaching of Buddhism. Three years later (1245) the hierarch himself was received by the Mongolian Emperor Go-tan (b. 1205, crowned 1232, d. 1249) the grandson of Chenghiz, and next year he accepted him as his preceptor, offering him Central Tibet as a gift. From that time commences the rule of the priest-kings in Tibet.

2. Sir C. Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present*, p 27.

When the religious purity became more corrupted, and the monasteries and monks began to live an easy and sensuous life, another great reformer was born. His name was Tsong-Kha-pa (1356-1418), the founder of the Ge-lug-pa or the so called yellow-hat sect. He was greatly grieved with the plight of Noble Dharma. With a band of devout and learned disciples he began his great reforming work. He made the famous monastery of Ga-ldan his headquarters. In 1408 he established the famous monastery of Ga-ldan, which became the chief seat of his order. His disciples Jam-Yang, Sakya-ye-ses, and Gen-dun-dup founded the great monasteries of De-pung (1445), Se-ra (1418) and Ta-shi-lhun-po (1446). Two older sects Ka-dam-pa (the follower of Atisha) and Tshan-nid-pa (followers of philosophical schools), helped him, and eagerly accepted his reform. The 15th century was the great epoch of Buddhist revival in Tibet. Very soon after their establishment the aforesaid monasteries became the seats of learning and still they hold that position. There are students not only from the different parts of Tibet and Himalayan districts, but in them you can see thousands of students from Mongolia, Siberia and even from Astrakhan in European Russia.

In 1641 the Mongol chief Cushi Khan offered the kingdom of Tibet to the fifth Dalai Lama as a token of his religious piety. The present Dalai Lama Thub-tan-Gyam-Tso is the thirteenth.

Tibet is isolated from the outside world, and so the religion. It is not affected by the outside world. No doubt, again now we find so many weaknesses there, and reform is overdue.

MONGOLIA AND RUSSIAN MONGOLIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

According to tradition, the Mongol people had received Buddhism through Chinese Turkestan and also they claim that their forefathers received the message of the Buddha from Asokan missionaries. For its proof they point out so many Sanskrit names and words used in their language, which is quite contrary to Tibetan practice, where even well known proper names such as Buddha, Kasyapa, etc. are used in their Tibetan translation. Anyhow that is a controversial matter. The Buddhism which is prevalent among the Mongolian people is pure Tibetan Buddhism, which was introduced there in the first half of the 13th century during the reign of Chengiz Khan. Gotan Khan, Kubla Khan and his descendants were great patrons of Buddhism. The

Skya hierarchs and the former Dalai Lamas were always active in propagation of Buddhism. I have already spoken about the activities of some of the Sa-Skya lamas. The third Dalai Lama, Sonam-Gyantso (1542-87) himself went to Mongolia in 1576 for the propagation of the Dharma. The fourth You-tan Gyantso (1588-1615) was himself a Mongol. Thus Buddhism spread among all the Mongol people of inner and outer Mongolia, Buriat, Kalmuck and Astrakhan, the last three belonging to Soviet Russia.

Until the Russian revolution (in 1917), Mongol Buddhists were just like Tibetans. In fact, I saw many Mongolian students in the monasteries of Lhasa, who are perfect scholars in the Tibetan language and literature, but they cannot read and write their own literature. Lhasa was their home. But now except the Mongols of inner Mongolia and the tribes living between Tibet and outer Mongolia, all have undergone a great change. Formerly like the Tibetan religious heads, Mongol Buddhists also had the luxury of incarnate lamas, or so-called living Buddhas. The Grand Lama of Urga was the highest of all and was only below the Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama. There were many smaller incarnate lamas, but since the death of the last Grand Lama of Urga, they did not care about his incarnation. The other incarnate lamas also are driven from the country and the number of the monks is lessened. But as I heard from the Buriat and other Mongol monks in Lhasa, there is a tremendous reform going on amongst the people. The famous scholar priest Durjief, who was the instrument in making a treaty between Tibet and Russia, and which was the cause of the British armed expedition in 1904, is still alive. As he gave good counsel to his people not to fight with the Red Army (he was able after the revolution to busy himself and his band of co-workers in putting Buddhism into its primitive form, which has no friction with atheism, communal ownership of property, etc. of Marxism. In reality, my informant said, Buddha and Marx are not antagonistic, but complementary to one another.)

China: About the beginning of the Christian era, Buddhism reached China. Even in those days China was a great civilised nation. Buddhism is always constructive and complementary to the rightful national aims and achievements, even of a less civilised nation. So Kashyapa Matanga and his companion, who

reached there from Khotan in 56 AD were successful in the propagation of Buddhism in China. The *Sutra of Forty-two Sayings* which they translated into Chinese, was a great success. The seed of Buddhism which they planted in the soil of China soon germinated and *Kumarajiva* (in 383) and *Bidhidharma* (in 520) made it grow into a mighty tree. Fa-hien, Hiuen-tsang and hundreds of others greatly helped it. Thus within six and seven centuries Buddhism got assimilated into the national life and nobody could suspect its foreign colour. It made a deep undying impression upon Chinese art and literature. It produced numerous noble souls for the service of every branch of national life. It made divine its many hills and valleys of sublime beauty and sylvan solitude. Like waves it became an inseparable companion to the stream of the nation. Ruling dynasties changed, but Buddhism remained with the nation, sometimes receiving patronage from the ruling sovereign and sometimes not. The Thangs were great admirers of it. The Mongols (1193-1367) surpassed all in their devotion towards it. The Mings (1367-1643) were no less patronising. The founder of the Manchoo dynasty (1643-1912) was himself an ex-Buddhist monk. Buddhism knew that the truth has in itself a tremendous force, so it does not require outside force.

From the beginning of the last century China came into direct contact with the western world. It shared nation in its all ups and downs. In the last part of the 19th century, the new generation treated it with neglect and tried to copy the worst things of the west. In the first decade after the revolution it reached the climax. But the tide could not go too far away in this way. The wheel of reform and revival began. The thinkers were attracted by the high idealistic philosophy of the Yogachara school, and the practical method of Zen meditation. New religious centres were being established inside and abroad. Thousands of books were being published. There was a time, when Christianity was taking the upperhand. But even then the competition was not between the Christianity and the Buddhism, but between Buddhism and not having a religion. In such a state Buddhism only could succeed.

Korea: In 372, Sundo, the first Buddhist missionary came to Korea from China and many others followed him. By the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism became not only estab-

~~lished, but Korea herself took the duty of propagating the Dharma in other lands and Korean monks crossed the sea in 538, and laid the foundation of Buddhism in Japan.~~ The beautiful Alpine country of Korea and her wonderful sons saw something in the Dharma quite akin to their own nature. The enchanting range of Keum Kang-san or Diamond Mountains became the centre of the Buddhist monasteries. As in China here also Buddhism did not become grafted on the Korean nation; but its philosophy, contemplative discipline and creative genius were becoming one with it.

The nation, which for more than fifteen centuries had lived in such a way, cannot easily discard its methods. Still from the beginning of the present century, Japan, forgetting her debt to Korea and copying the western imperialism, Korea became her prey. No doubt, if Japan had not taken her, Russia or any other power would have captured her, but Japan could have helped Korea in other ways. Within a few years Japan annexed her and all the persistence from her patriotic sons was stubbornly suppressed. It was at such a moment that the Korea, seeing Christian missionaries took them as saviours, ~~thousands of them became converted to Christianity, not for its noble teaching, but for the power of guns, by which it is backed.~~ Japanese Buddhists established their mission centres, but young Koreans hated all things Japanese. They waited long for help from the Christian powers, but no help was forthcoming. In the passed decade, disillusion came very swiftly. Now those of them who were more dissatisfied with the Japanese rule, turned in great numbers towards communism; ~~at the same time Buddhist philosophy and ethics were winning back the hearts of the educated Koreans.~~

Japan: As I have already said Buddhism was introduced in Japan in 538, many years before Mohamed and Augustine of Canterbury were born. It was at the Shrine of Horinji, perhaps the richest storehouse of Buddhist art and architecture in all the east, the first Buddhist monks settled and laid the foundations of Japanese culture. Bringing a guilt image of one of the Buddhas and copies of some of the scriptures, they carried also a personal message from the king of their country to the royal home of Japan, pointing out the excellences of the Dharma and its far-flung influence.

Within a century Buddhism was able to establish itself firmly

in the country, and many monasteries were established. Prince Shotoku became the Asoka of Japan; "whose authentic likeness, painted by a Korean artist, is treasured by the imperial family". In 604 he proclaimed Buddhism as the state religion. He was not satisfied with that alone, but he himself preached, and commented on the three sutras—Saddharma-Pundarika, Vimalakirti-Nirdesa and Srimala.

The influence of Buddhism in Japan can be easily perceived from the two American Christian writers:

"The story of Buddhism in Japan is almost the story of her civilization; there is little in her rich treasury of art and religion which Buddhism has not inspired and moulded."

"...Buddhism from the ninth century on has been a real part of the roots, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit of the Japanese tree of life. That is, its influence has been so profound that there is no aspect of Japanese life which has not been greatly modified by it...

"In a real sense has Buddhism been the Light of Asia, and perhaps no part of Asia has received as much through it as has Japan... But the history of Japan having been what it was, it is correct to say that Buddhism has been a determining factor, and that the sources of Japanese culture have been either directly or indirectly mainly Buddhist."

In the middle of the 8th century, a Chinese Buddhist monk Kanjin with an Indian companion Bodhisena, reached Japan. The former became the head of the hierarchy and helped much in the propagation of Buddhism. Horen (1133-1212), Shinran (1173-1262) and Nichiren (1222-82) were the great Buddhist teachers whom Japan produced. The following are the six most prominent Buddhist sects in Japan:

Tendai	introduced in 805 AD
Shingon	introduced in 805 "
Jodo	founded in 1175 "
Zen	introduced in 1191 "
Shin	founded in 1225 "
Nichiren	founded in 1253 "

3. K. J. Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, p 163.

4. A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, 1925, pp 295-96.

The 12th and 13th centuries are the time of the greatest Buddhist activities. In the next five centuries Buddhism kept its hold with different sects rising into prosperity at different times. In 1549, two Catholic Xavierian missionaries came to Japan. For some time the Christians made good progress, but then they began to make political intrigues, and in 1597 many were hanged, but it was not until 1611 that missionising was altogether forbidden. Pressed by outside interference, in 1868 the emperor was restored to participate in the direct management of the government. Western power compelled the Japanese to prepare for the defence of their national independence. In order to create an aggressive patriotic spirit, Buddhism was disestablished as the state religion in 1870. It took some years to adjust itself according to circumstances. Many young men were sent to the west for the study of sciences. Dr. Bunjio Nanjio was sent to England for the study of Sanskrit. Others also came to the west, and after their study they were more convinced of the superiority of Buddhism. But it took some time to begin the real revival.

From the beginning of the present century Buddhism began to assert its strong influence again. The establishment of the educational institutions, social services and publication of literature began. In the religious universities of the Shin sect alone there were thousands of students being prepared for missionary works. Of the Buddhist revival in Japan a Christian writer says:

“The present revival manifests itself in many ways, not least in the new intellectual activity which has brought into existence Buddhist universities, a chair of religious education, and a very vigorous output of literature and each of the great sects has some outstanding scholar trained in the scientific methods of western scholarship, but proud to call himself a Buddhist.” There are ample signs, too, of a quickened interest in social service, of movements for children and young people, such as the Y.M.B.A. which is now active in all Buddhist countries.

“Old temples are being repaired and new ones built and there is said to be over a hundred thousand of these in Japan devoted to Buddhism alone. Amongst the more recent is one in Kyoto which cost nearly a million pounds sterling; for the transport of its massive timbers hundreds of thousands of women sacrificed their hair. It is interesting and amusing to see Buddhist priest

in bowler hats and gorgeous robes directing the removal of some ancient shrine to a new site and to note the modern American methods of engineering employed. All this is symptomatic of new Japan which is yet tenaciously loyal to its old past.⁷⁵

Japanese Buddhists are not satisfied with the propagation of the Dharma in their home alone. There are thousands of missionaries working in Korea, Formosa, China, Philippine, Hawaii and the Atlantic Coast of North America. Everywhere there is fresh activity. The publication of the whole Buddhist Tripitaka of 55 large volumes in three years was an astonishing task. By looking at the *Bibliographies Buddhique* you will see the literary activities of Japanese scholars. All the Japanese people should not be judged from the action of their imperialist politicians, just as it is not fair to judge the British people from the action of their politicians.

Indo-China: It was in the first century AD that Indian colonies were established on the shores of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and from the second century a Hindu dynasty was ruling over the South of Annam. There is no direct proof that Buddhism existed in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. But in the middle of the third century Buddhism seems to have been known in that country. In 478 an Indian monk Naga-sena was driven to the shore of Champa (in Annam) by a tempest, when he was returning from Canton to his own country. He remained there until 484. Fou-nan was at that time a place of great Buddhist learning. Several Buddhist monks from Fou-nan went to China, and made many translation works. Samghapala (460-524) was the first of the band (who knew several languages) and was invited by the Chinese emperor of Loyang to his court in 506, where for sixteen years he worked at the translation of the canonical books.

Fou-nan was at that time a great empire, which extended its suzerainty over the Malaya Peninsula, Siam and a part of the Laos states. But in the sixth century one of the vassal states, Cambodia, captured the ruling power. The influence of Buddhism can be gathered from an inscription of 664 AD in which the reigning king in admiration of two Bhikshus who dwelt in his

5. K. J. Saunders, *Buddhism in the Modern World*, pp 60-61.

kingdom refer to them as "treasures of virtue, knowledge, gentleness, patience, compassion, austerity and prudence".

At about the end of the 12th century a philanthropic king, Jayavarma the seventh had the idea of founding hospitals in the different provinces of his empire. Eight of these foundation charters have been preserved. Now all these charitable institutions are placed under the invocation of the "Master of Remedies", the Buddha Bhaisajyaguru whose sanctuaries (sugatalaya) are invariably attached to each hospital (arogyashala). Here is a proof that works of social alleviation were conceived under Buddhist inspiration. The royal edict says:

"He erected the Buddha Bhaisajya, with a hospital nearby, ...He established here this hospital, with a temple of the Sugata and Sugata Bhaisajya in 1108 Saka. ...The four castes may be cared for here."

Until the 12th century Mahayana Buddhism was prevalent in Cambodia as well as in Champa and other northern countries. But a royal edict of 1022 AD shows that the Theravada form of Buddhism was in vogue there. In the end of the 13th century, Siam replaced the Cambodian empire. Her capital Sukhodaya, at that time was entirely and officially Buddhist monasteries and hermitages arise everywhere.

With the advent of Siamese power and under its patronage the orthodox Theravada began its propagation work; and continued it. In the past two centuries as in other Buddhist countries, inactivity had crept into the Buddhist church. But since 1864 when Brah Sugandha returned from Siam after completing his study, fresh life had been infused into it. He died in 1894 at the monastery of Padamavati at Phnom-Penh, the capital of Cambodia.

Buddhists of Indo-China, like those of other countries, will be ever thankful to the French scholars—Senart, Sylvain Levi, Pelliot and others—whose researches in the field of Buddhology, gave a great impetus towards the Buddhist awakening. The works of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, and of his guide M. Finot, have done admirable work. (In 1914 The Ecole established in Cambodia a school for the study of Pali, with an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit, French and other allied subjects.) There is a fine library at Phnom-Penh, which contains many Pali manuscripts and printed works. The library also undertook to

publish Pali texts in Cambodian in popular editions. Their issues run from 15,000 to 20,000 copies. The former school of Pali studies was not broad enough in its scope, and thus the Institute d' Etudes Bouddhiques in Indo-China was inaugurated on 12 May 1930. One of its varied activities was an 'auto-librairie' which traversed all Cambodia and South-East Cochin-China, replenishing the depots with books and pictures and other issues of the library of Phnom-Penh. In Laos these had begun an issue of translations from Pali into Laotian. But its leading enterprise is the complete translation of the Tripitaka—texts to the left, and Cambodian translation to the right—a little matter which means some 90 volumes, each of 600 pages. Subscription to the edition are coming in well, and include many suits from the poorer laity moved by religious and patriotic motives..."

Thus we see a new Buddhist activity in Indo-China, in which the helping hand of French officials and scholars is not insignificant. The religious zeal of the emperor of Cambodia and the King Luang-Prabang render their worthy to be called Buddhist monarchs.

Siam (Thailand): The ancient history of Buddhism in the Siam is the same as of Cambodia, which until the beginning of the past century was included in the Siamese empire. Though the Theravada, the oldest form of Buddhism was (much earlier) in existence there; it did not flourish until King Suryavamsa Rama, who invited a teacher from Ceylon and appointed him Sangharaja, or the primate of the Buddhist church. He was not satisfied with this alone, and entered the Buddhist brotherhood himself. This example of King Rama is still followed by the royalties: many of whom enter the Sangha.

The late King Rama, the brother of the present monarch, was a staunch patron and defender of the faith. Being a well educated man and a graduate of Oxford, he knew the need of the present age. He published a beautiful edition of the Pali Tripitaka, helped in the translation of Pali works into the English language. His brother the present monarch, a highly educated sovereign is not less devoted towards the Dharma. The Sangha is well organised under the Sangharaja, and Buddhist monks are taking an increasingly greater part in the education, and the welfare of the people.

Burma: According to the tradition, ~~Burma received the message of the Buddha, in the third century before Christ, when under the patronage of Emperor Asoka, the Sangha sent missionaries to different countries. After the origin of Mahayana, it also reached Burma from South India. Both forms of Buddhism existed in Burma side by side and when Mahayana degenerated into Tantric Buddhism, that cult also spread in Burma, and perhaps took the upper hand. In the middle of the 11th century King Anawrata through the aid of a wandering monk was convinced of the purity of the Theravada teachings, and became its zealous patron. He brought a complete set of Pali Tripitaka from Thaton (Saddhammapura) and built a fine library for it in his capital Pagon (Arimaddhanapura). From that time onward Burma has been the stronghold of Theravada. Both the people and the monarchs were great devotees of the Dhamma. When Burma, in 1886, was deprived of her monarch, there was danger of slackness towards the Dhamma amongst the people. But the Buddhist monks of Burma did not remain simply as helpers in the gain of bliss in the other world. Every Buddhist monastery in Burma, then as now, was a free school for the students, with the result that illiteracy among men and women was almost non-existence. So after that calamity, the monks came forward to help the nation with their wise counsel. European visitors were struck with admiration at the cleanliness, culture and absolute freedom and efficiency of the women. The national awakening and modern Buddhist researches greatly helped the religious fervour of the people. While the Christian missionaries were propagating their gospel in the east, many Europeans were attracted by the noble teaching of the Buddha, and some of them entered the Buddhist brotherhood. It was a Burmese lady who brought Ananda Metteya, the first English Buddhist monk to England for the propagation of the Dhamma. Burma is ever young in her activity, and her children are most devout followers of the Lord of Compassion.~~

Ceylon: ~~Ceylon is the heritage of the purest form of Buddhism. It was in the middle of the third century BC that the royal monk Mahinda, the son of Asoka, came to the shores of Lanka. His sister the Theri Sanghamitra soon followed him with a branch of the famous Bodhi tree, under which the enlightened one attained the supreme wisdom. King Devanampiya-Tissa soon became~~

converted struck by the sublime beauty of the Dhamma and with the lead of their pious monarch, many people followed him. For twenty-two centuries the tree which was planted by the venerable nun shows by its green soft leaves the ever-fresh affection of the people. There were so many period of trials but the sons of Lanka remained true custodians of the noble laws.

It was Ceylon that sent fresh and pure blood to Burma, when Buddhism became corrupt and was in decay. She sent her sons to help King Rama for the regeneration of Buddhism in Siam. When under the inhuman persecution of the Portuguese, the order of the monks became extinct, Siam repaid her debt by sending a group of learned monks in 1757 AD. The Dutch like the present rulers did not interfere in the religious order. In 1815 the last sovereign was removed by the consent of the people, and British government undertook the duty of the protection of the Buddhist faith. But until the eighties of the last century Christianity wielded great influence, and the educated Ceylonese considered it against their dignity to call themselves Buddhist. Just at that time a Buddhist monk Migettuwatte Gunananda appeared on the horizon. By his speeches, he showed the beauty of the Dhamma. The venerables Sumangala and Dhammaloka established the two educational centres Vidyodaya and Vidyalamkara, for the study of Pali scriptures. Rhys Davids and Oeot came and admired the Buddha's sublime message. Dhammapala, the son of a rich family, renounced the world and offered himself for the service of the Dhamma. With the close of the century the chapter closed. The educated became conscious about their ancestral possessions. New monasteries and educational institutions began to spring forth throughout the island. Hundreds of the families which had been forcibly converted to the Roman faith by the Portuguese sword returned to the fold of the Dhamma. Amongst the Sinhalese cultured families you will find thousands of such examples, of those who returned to the Buddha, after six or seven generations, had remained Christian. I know a village, where lived twenty-two very rich and educated families; only three generations before they were all Catholics, but now only one of them remains so, and all the others are devout Buddhists. Under the shade of the ever-green palm tree, you can see a beautiful monastery with a lovely shrine, a big lecture hall, a fine library and a hundred monk students.

Not satisfied with the work being done in the country, Ceylon sent her sons to the other countries for the propagation of the Dhamma. ~~For forty years the venerable Dhammapala, a worthy son of Lanka, is working for the revival of Buddhism in India and for sending monks to England and the west.~~

From the brief survey given above you can see the Buddhist activities in the east. For the Buddhists there is no difference between the east and the west. How can a co-religionist of Menander, the scion of the Hellas, imagine such a difference? We know how much more in the present age, the west needs and is capable of grasping the teachings of the Buddha, which are based on reason and human sympathy.

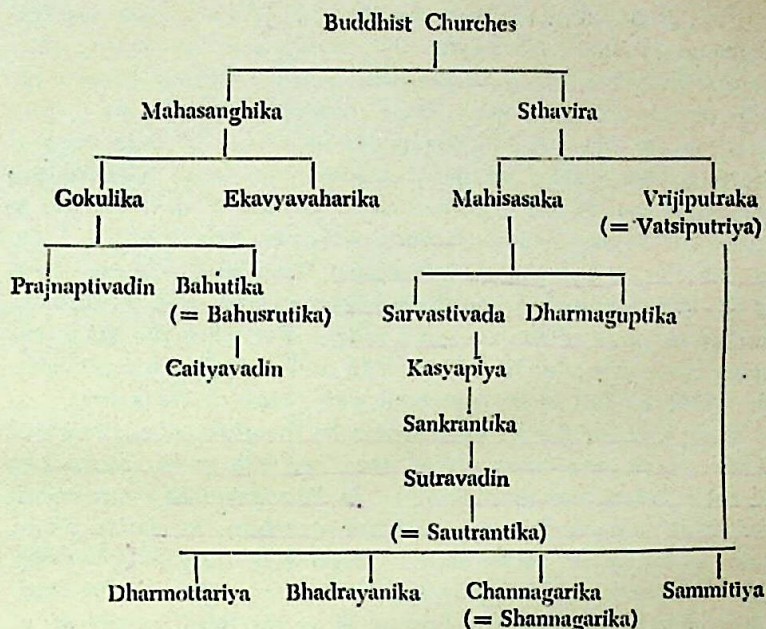
The Origin of Mahayana

AFTER THE LONG ministry of forty-four years in which the Buddha taught the doctrine of Non-Soul, the doctrine of Godlessness, and against the scriptural authority, against caste and colour, his doctrine being based on ethics and philosophy, he died at the age of eighty years in or about 483 BC. As the years went by, people of much different intellectual capacity and of widely differing social status became his followers, and within one hundred years after his death, the Buddhist churches divided into two sections, Sthaviravada and Mahasanghikavada. After another period of one hundred and twenty years of division into many schools, there came into existence eighteen different sects within Buddhism. The commentary of Kathavattu has given us an order¹ of their origin: (see next page).

During the lifetime of the Buddha his disciples reached Gandhara, Gujrat (Sunaparanta), Paithan (Hyderabad state). As time went on Buddhism spread into other parts of India; and during the rule of the Emperors Asoka, Minander, Indraghimitra and others, with the help of these rulers, Buddhist monks were able to go beyond India for the propagation of Buddhism. In the third century BC Emperor Asoka helped to send missionaries to far away countries such as Ceylon, Burma, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt and Macedonia; thus in the second century BC Buddhism had reached lands far away from the boundary of India. Up till that time the Buddhist church had been split into eighteen sects. Though the Emperor Asoka might have been the patron of only

This article was written in London in 1932. Later it was published in *Journal Asiatique* (Paris). The Hindi version of this article was published in *Ganga-Puratattwank* (Special Archaeology Number) in January 1933, from Sultanganj (Bihar).

1. Comm. Buddhaghosha's introduction.



one sect, he used to preach great tolerance not only in Buddhism but outside it. So it is quite possible that the other Buddhist schools also did great missionary work, if not outside, at least inside India. Sungas succeeded the dynasty of Mauryas and they were succeeded by the imperial family of Kanvas; and then came into power the Andhra emperors. These Andhras² were the great

2. Later on these Andhras (Satavahana) were connected by marriage with the Saka Kshatrapas of Ujjain and Gujrat. On account of vastness their empire was called Maharashtra or Rattha; and thus they were sometimes named Ratthika (Rashtrika). They often married Saka princesses and that is perhaps why we sometimes find in Sanskrit dramas Saka or Sakara called Ratthiyasala (Rashtrikasala). The Sakas were newcomers to India and as they did not have much of non-Aryan blood nor were they used to such hard climate, they were of a very fair colour. That is one of the reasons why Saka girls were often more prized in the harem of the Indian rulers of that time. Before the country surrounding Paithan became known as Rattha or Maharattha, it was called Andhaka. The Satavahanas were therefore also called Andhrakas or Andhras. When they removed their city from Paithan to Dhanyakataka, that province was named Andhra, and consequently the Telugu-speaking province where Dhanyakataka lies is called Andhra. The Andhaka (Andhra) and Vrishni tribes were neighbouring

patrons of Buddhism as were the Mauryas. Their capital was Pratisthana (Paithan). Afterwards they were forced to remove their capital from Paithan to Dhanyakataka, while Paithan became the seat of the crown prince. These Andhra emperors were very powerful, at one time having under their rule a large part of Northern India also: so their kingdom was called Maharashtra (the great realm) and even now some portion of their country is called by the same name. Andhras were also known by the name of Satkarni or Satvahana (Salivahana). They were the successors of the Kanva emperors and their coins are found even in Kosambi and other parts of the Gangetic valleys. But when the Sakas became more powerful in the northern and western parts of India, the Andhras had to be contented with Southern India only.

Their love for Buddhism is shown by the great cave temples of Karla Nasik and other places where we find many inscriptions of these rulers and their families. In Dhanyakataka (Amaravati) they built marvellous stupas with fine sculptures on marble plates, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum. In reality, this Andhra imperial family had the same relation to the Buddhist church from the first century BC to the third century AD as the Mauryas has had in their time; and later on Palas had from the eighth century to the twelfth century AD. Though the making of rockhewn caves commenced with the Mauryas, it was, however, left to Andhras and their successors to add to the works the great cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora.

MAHASANGHIKAS AND DHARMOTTARIYAS

These two Buddhist sects were most prevalent in the Andhra empire as it is known by the inscriptions of Karla³ and Nasik.

In order to know more about the different Buddhist sects in the Andhra empire of the second to the first century BC, we should see Kathavatthu one of the seven books of Pali Abhidhammapitaka in which the views of some of these schools are criticised. Those schools and their views are found in the table (on next page).

tribes and Vasudeva was one of the Vrisnis (Panini 4:1:114); so the Andhakas being Aryan or non-Aryan depends upon whether the Vrisnis were Aryan or non-Aryan. There is reason to suppose that they were most probably Aryan.

3. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol II, pp 55, 64, 71.

The Origin of Mahayana

151

	LATER PERIOD																ANCIENT																															
	Andhaka																Mahasanghika																Sthaviradins															
	Total views	Andhaka	Aparasaila	Purvasaila	Rajagirika	Siddharthika	Valpulya	Uttarapalya	Hetuvada	Mahasanghika	Gokulika	Kashyapilya	Bhadrayanika	Mahisasaika	Valspultriga	Sarvastivadin	Sammitiya	Open views	Connected																													
(Later period)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16																																
1. Andhaka	72												2		1	8	62	10																														
2. Aparasailiya	7	1	6														0	7																														
3. Purvasailiya	29	1	6										1			3	18	11																														
4. Rajagirik	11	1			3	8										1	2	9																														
5. Siddharthik	9	1		8												1	0	9																														
6. Vaipulya	8	1						1					1				7	1																														
7. Uttarapathak	44	7						1					1				34	10																														
8. Hetuvada	8						1										7	1																														
(Ancient)																	130																															
9. Mahasanghika	24												1	1	1	1	20	4																														

(Continued)

(Continued)

152

10. Gokulika	1									1	0
11. Kshyapiya	1									1	0
12. Bhadrayanika	1	1								0	1
13. Mahisasaka	9	2	1	1	1				1	0	1
14. Valsiputriya	1								2	1	3
15. Sarvastivadin	4	1		7					1		
16. Samnitiya	22	8	3	1	1	4			3		19
Common	40								27		
									<u>157</u>		
									57		
									<u>214</u>		
Uncertain	17										

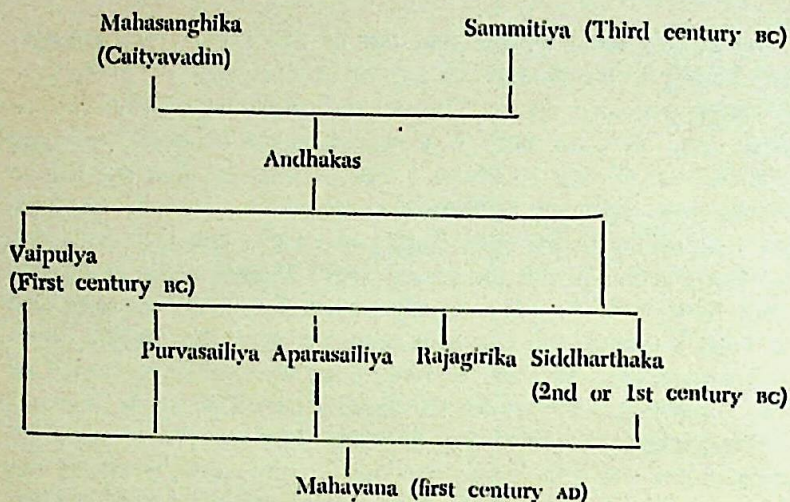
From this table we see that out of 214 (216) views refuted: 130 belong to the Andhrakas and other new sects; 40 views were common to many, upon 17 views the commentary of the book is silent⁴ and there are only 27 views which are connected with the old 18 sects. From the above it can be inferred, that the *Katha-vatthu* was especially written to criticise the views of Andhaka sects as we see in the table. Eighty-two views belong to four Andhakas above. Though the places where Vaipulyavada and Hetuvada flourished, are not definitely told, still we shall see later that at least Vaipulyavada was also connected with the Andhra country. Uttarapathakas seem to have been flourishing in Panjab or the Himalayan tract; as for the locality where Hetuvada flourished at present we cannot say anything. Mahasanghikas were the most prominent sect in the Andhra empire, and when we see views that were common to them and to the other four Andhra sects. We also notice their similarities with the views of Sammitiyas. Like Mahasanghikas, the Andhakas also belong to the same part of the country, therefore it is not impossible to infer that the Andhakas originated from the Mahasanghikas⁵ and in some respects Sammitiyas.

4. If we compare one with another we find a clue to these 17 views also: .

Andhaka	4
" Purvasailiya	1
Uttarapathaka	5
Mahasanghika	5
Sammitiya	}
Andhaka	
	1
	16

Though the commentary does not say who is responsible for the view in which the existence of past and future accepted (*Katha*, 1:7), however, according to *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi* of Hiuén-Tsang this belongs to Sarvastivada and Sammitiya. See, *La Vijnaptimatratasiddhi par*, Dr Poussin, p 157.

5. Among the 18 schools in Buddhism we find Caityavada the chief sect was in Dhanyakataka (Amaravati) and perhaps the great caitya (stupa) of Dhanyakataka gave name to this school. The great stupa of Dhanyakataka was known as Mahacaitya or caitya as it is mentioned in Manjusrimulakalpa.



PURVASAILIYA

In the commentary of the *Kathavatthu* (1:9) it is counted among the Andhaka schools; which came into existence after the Third Council for they are excluded in the list of eighteen. Caityavada school of Mahasanghika is included among the eighteen old schools; but the other four Andhaka schools are not included among them. Therefore it seems that they came into existence after Caityavada. Since Caityavada is included among the eighteen schools, the author of the commentary thinks that it existed at the time of the Third Council. Though the Caitya of Dhanyakataka became famous when the Andhras came into power, just after the Sungas⁶, the separate individuality of the Caityavada school is only possible after Kharavela and Sungas. If this is true, we can accept the origin of Caityavada to have been in the second century BC. Then we should also accept the origin of the other four Andhra schools as belonging to the first century BC. (From the Tibetan works⁷, it is known that Purvasaila and Aparasaila were two hills on the east and west sides of the city of Dhanyakataka; and the viharas were built on these hills were called Purvasailiya and Aparasailiya respectively. Dhanyakataka is modern Dharnikot of the Guntur district of Andhra province.) From the Sinhalese

6. Colombo 1912.

7. Klong-rdal gsung-hbum (I.hsa) C. I, 8b.

work Nikaya-sangraha, written in the fourteenth century, we find that Purvasailiya school was responsible for composing the work known as Rashtrapala-garjita,⁸ which was considered by them as spoken by Buddha. Even now in Tibet the bronze images known as Shar-ri (Purvasailiya) are very much prized.

APARASAILIYA ✓

‘This was a vihara built on a hill situated on the western side of Dhanyakataka which gave its name to the school; its name is known from the Tibetan records.’ According to Nikaya-sangraha¹⁰ they composed the Sutras named “Alavaka-Garjita” as their scripture.

RAJGIRIKAS

~~They are also one of the Andhrakas~~; but where their headquarters Rajgiri was, we do not know. In the *Kathavatthu*, their eleven wrong views are contradicted, eight of which are common to them and to Siddharthakas thus showing their connection with one another. According to *Nikaya-sangraha* they were the propounders of the *Angulimala*¹¹-pitaka.

SIDDHARTHAKA

The same is about Rajagirika. The place of their headquarters also is not known. The similarity between the views of these two schools shows, either that one was originated from the other, or that they both have a common source. According to *Nikaya-sangraha* they propounded *Gudha-vessantara*.

These four schools during the rule of the Andhra emperors were in a very flourishing condition. ~~From the inscriptions of Amaravati and Nagarjuna-konda we know the devotion of Andhra rulers towards Buddhism.~~ Though we have some materials about them from the Chinese, Tibetan, Pali and Sanskrit sources, still these are not sufficient. ~~However, the Andhra emperors had great love for inscriptions and we hope that from Nagarjuna-konda and other ancient ruins of Guntur district, we may get more inscrip-~~

8. Probably *Rashtrapala-paripriccha*. (Nanjio's 873; Skan-jur 59, 9).

9. Klong-rdal, *ibid*.

10. Probably *Angulimalisutra* (Nanjio's 434; Skan-jur 62, 13).

11. *Nikaya-sangraha*, edited by K. C. Fernando (Colombo 1932), p 10.

tions when those sites are excavated, and they may be able to put us on firmer ground. No doubt, they will be a great help in shedding new light on the obscure parts of the history and origin of Mahayana and Vajrayana.

VAIPULYAVADINS

In the commentary of *Kathavatthu*, ~~Vaipulyavadins are also called Mahasunyataavadins. We know that Nagarjuna was the great champion of the doctrine of voidness~~ (Sunyataavada) and we know that most of the Mahayana Sutras are also called Vaipulya Sutra; and so Vaipulyavada and Mahayana are names for the same school. Though in the commentary¹² of *Kathavatthu* we find the same Sunyata clearly mentioned, in the texts itself we do not find the doctrine of voidness criticised. So it seems that the doctrine of voidness was not well-developed, when *Kathavatthu* was composed; and since during the time of Nagarjuna this doctrine was well known; therefore it seems that *Kathavatthu* was completed before the time of Nagarjuna.

Vaipulyavadin's views, criticised in *Kathavatthu*, show that they had differences of opinion in respect to Sangha, Buddha and Maithuna (sexual intercourse). They taught:

1. The Sangha does not accept gift, does not purify it nor does it enjoy it, and there is no great merit in offering it a gift.¹³
2. There is no great merit in offering a gift to Buddha; Buddha did not come, and stay in the world; nor did the Buddha teach his Dhamma;¹⁴
3. With special purpose Maithuna can be performed.¹⁵

There is no doubt that these three views were very revolutionary and that they could shake the whole structure of Buddha's teaching, especially the denial of the historicity of Buddha and, the permission for Maithuna. In the first and second we find the germs of whole Mahayana and in the third are the germs of Vajrayana or Tantrika Buddhism. One thing more should be noted: All the views belonging to this school are criticised in the last portion of *Kathavatthu*, in the seventh, eighth and thirteenth Vargas. The beginning of the *Kathavatthu* might have been during the time of

12. Comm. III, 2.

13. *Kathavatthu*, XVII, 6, 7, 8; 9.

14. *Kathavatthu*, XXVII, 10.

15. *Kathavatthu*, XXIII, 1.

~~Asoka and the Third Council, but no doubt many portions of it were added afterwards, and its last portion which is related to Vethullavada (Vaipulyavada) is the latest addition. As to the time when it was added, we can say only, that it was not only before the commentator Buddhaghosha, but also before Nagarjuna, since here we do not find the doctrine of voidness (of Nagarjuna) criticised. Thus if we accept its time as the first century AD, there will be in my opinion, not much inaccuracy. We could speak about it more definitely if we knew precisely the date of the Saka-Salivahana era and the time of Nagarjuna. From the history of Ceylon¹⁶ we know that it was during the time of King Vattagamani Abhaya (first century BC) that the Vethullavada was introduced for the first time to Ceylon. Perhaps in later times when the four Andhaka schools and Vaipulyavada were amalgamated into one then they all became known as Vethulla (= Vaipulya).~~

In China and Japan, Mahayana Sutras¹⁷ are divided into five classes, namely: Prajnaparamita, Ratnakuta, Vaipulya, Avatamsaka and Nirvana; but in Tibetan Skan-jur they are divided as: Prajnaparamita, Ratnakuta, Vaipulya, Miscellaneous (Prakirna) Sutra and Nirvana respectively.

Dr Nanjio has counted Avatamsaka Sutras separate from the Vaipulya Sutras, but they are not different as we find the same two names joined for the same Sutra. At the end of every chapter (patala) of *Manjusrimulakalpa*¹⁸ we find Bodhisattva-pitakavatamsakat Mahayana-Vaipulya-sutrat, and in Tibetan translations¹⁹ also with the names of Vaipulya Sutras we find "Bodhisattva-pitakat avatamsakat mahavaipulya... Sutram" added.

Nanjio himself in his catalogue for the numbers 87, 89, 94, 96 and 101 books, has given both Avatamsaka and Vaipulya as epithets. There is no doubt that the Sutras Prajnaparamita, Ratnakuta, Vaipulya, etc. belong to Mahayana. Vaipulyavada and Pali Vethullavada are synonymous and Mahayana is a later name given to it. We may say that in the beginning Mahayana was known as the Vethulla or Vaipulya school, and it was very much later that the other schools accepted the word Mahayana.

16. *Nikaya-sangraha*, p 14.

17. See Bunjio Nanjio's Catalogue of the Buddhist Triptaka.

18. Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, Nos 70, 76, 84.

19. Skan-jur, 41-46.

Vethulla and Vaipulya are the synonymous is also proved by the commentary of the *Kathavatthu* where the Vethullavadins are also called *Mahasunyata-vadins*. In the *Nikaya-sangraha* Vethullavadins are said to be the authors of *Vethulla-pitakas*. In the same place we also find above-mentioned Andhakas²⁰ as the authors of *Ratnakuta* and other works.

Now from Tibetan and Chinese sources we know that the Ratnakuta and Vaipulya, both classes of Sutras belong to Mahayana, hence it is easy to take Mahayana as a combination of four Andhaka schools and Vethullavada. Thus the portions of Mahayana which is derived from Andhaka schools originated in the Andhra country (Dharnikot and other places in the modern Guntur district); but the place of the origin of the portion which was known as Vethullavada we have now to consider. (Here one thing should be remembered and that is that the Mahayana Sutras were re-edited and interpolated many times, so the original place here means only the place where the oldest part of it was composed; whereas in re-edition and interpolation the whole of India was concerned.)

From the different sources, we get the following points about Vaipulyavada:

1. It was introduced into Ceylon²¹ in the first century BC.
2. Some of its Sutras were translated into Chinese²² in the first and second century AD.
3. Nagarjuna was the great propounder of its philosophy.
4. Nagarjuna's residence was Sriparvata²³ and Dhanyakataka,
5. (Andhra) King Satavahana²⁴ was a great friend of Nagarjuna.

20. "Andhkayo Ratna--kuta-divu Sastrantara racana Kalaha" (*Nikaya-sangraha*, edited by K. C. Fernando, Colombo 1932, p 11).

21. *Nikaya-sangraha*, p 14.

22. Nanjio's catalogue No 25 *Sukhavati-vyula* was translated by Lokaraksha in 147 to 186 AD.

23. *Klong-dol gsung-bum* (Lhasa), p 9a, "The residence of Nagarjuna was Dhanyakataka near Sriparvata in South India."

24. *Suhrillekha*, the letter written to this king by Nagarjuna is preserved in its Tibetan and Chinese translation.

This relation is also established by *Harshacharitam*:

"Tasmat nagarajat Nagarjuno nama... bhikshurathikshata, lebhe ca. Nirgatya rasatalat trisamudradhipatya Satavahananamine narendraya suhrdo-sa dadan tam" (*Nirnayasagara* press, third edition, p 250).

6. Some of the revolutionary²⁵ views of Vethulla were also held by four Andhaka schools.

From the above we can infer that the centre of Vaipulyavada was somewhere near Dhanyakataka; it is also evident from the following stanza of *Manjusrimulakalpa*:

"One²⁶ who knows Tantra should go to Vidisa, which is the birth-place of the fruit of super-natural ambition; that place is said to be in the North-West."

Here Vidisa is said to be "in the north-west". We know that Vidisa is the present Bhilsa of Gwalior state (in Madhya Pradesh); and the stanza shows that the author was living somewhere in South-India. *Manjusrimulakalpa* belongs to Vaipulya-sutras, so that Sriparvata²⁷ and Dhanyakataka can be taken as the original home of Vaipulyavada.

The foundation of Mahayana was thus laid down in the Andhra country.

25. For example, in special cases the allowance for Maithuna (*Kathavatthu*, 23: 1). Andhakas believed the life of Buddha as something super-natural (*Katha*, 2: 8) and Vethullavadins even denied the historicity of Buddha. "Buddha did not come and stay in the world" (*Katha*, 18:1). "Buddha did not teach the Dhamma." (*Katha*, 18:2).

26. "Gacched vidisam tantrajnah siddhi-kama-phalodbhavam. Pasci-mottarayormadhya sa desah parikirtitah" (p 175).

27. Naharalla-badu, Nagarjuna-konda, district Guntur (Madras).

Ancient Relation Between China and India

INDIA AND CHINA are two great countries of Asia. They have not left only a lasting mark on several parts of Asia by their culture, but have affected also the economic development. In several countries they divided up their sphere of work. Tibet was a country of nomads till the seventh century. Both countries had an equal share in initiating Tibet into civilisation. There is the stamp of China everywhere in Tibet, their ways of life, clothes, their courtesy and polite ways, at the same time India has deeply influenced her language, literature, script, sculpture, paintings and spiritual life, India was successful in achieving all this without distorting national Tibetan forms; this was in keeping with India's age-old tradition. Tibet had been almost a part of China for the last thirteen centuries.

Contact between India and China took place on a level of equality. When these two countries came into contact, both were considered to be advanced countries in the world. We might say that these two were then the leading countries of the world. The contact between India and China is a model example of what cultural intercourse between two neighbouring countries should be. India also learnt a number of things from China, among which the chief is silk, weaving and embroidering. Indians used to call silk Chinanshuka, that is, China cloth. It is not our purpose to detail here what China gave to India, but to remind Indians that the sympathy and goodwill of India for New China is not a new phenomenon. There is incontrovertible historical

We do not know for which journal this article was written. This has not been included in any book by Rahulji. It was written in 1950.

proof that these relations were placed ~~on a firm foundation two thousand years ago; their beginnings were made even earlier.~~

In the early centuries of the Christian era contact between India and China mainly took place through three routes. ~~One of these was the Central Asian route which passed through the old silk road into Sinkiang.~~ Today there are two routes for reaching Central Asia from Kashmir, ~~one through Gilgit and the other through Ladakh.~~ During recent centuries the Ladakh route has been used most commonly, but it seems that in earlier times the Gilgit route was more popular. ~~There was a third route through Afghanistan and the Pamir which several Chinese pilgrims to India had followed. All these routes joined the famous silk road at Kashgar.~~ Like the northern land route there was also an eastern land route through India to China which passed through modern Yunan into Southern China. The ancient name of Yunan, Gandhara expresses its intimate ties with India. This name of Western Gandhara travelled eastward and indicates India's cultural influence. ~~In the time of Kublai Khan (13th century) there were repeated invasions of Eastern Gandhara, ultimately compelling many of the inhabitants to leave their homes and hearths.~~ These came to be the Thais of Siam, the Burmese of Burma and the Ahomes of Assam. ~~This Yunan route may have been very significant for cultural intercourse, but it was by no means easy or commonly frequented.~~ The third important way was by sea. This was the most ancient and the trade-route connecting India with China. We find traces of the cultural influence of India on countries bordering this route from the earliest historical times. ~~Indians had planted their own colonies in these lands and thus there were both ties of blood and culture with these countries.~~ This relationship is conveyed by the words Indonesia and Indo-China. ~~Indian traders reached Southern China sometimes by the longer route via Java, and sometimes travelled by way of modern Malaya (Singapur) and Kamboja (Cambodia) touching their ports.~~ They not only did not make a round of the whole Malaya peninsula and were very well acquainted with the Isthmus Kra. ~~(We find even today inscriptions on temples and monasteries built by Indian traders and shipping-masters, and ethnologists tell us that there are deep traces of Indian blood among the inhabitants of the cities and villages on this route.)~~ This southern sea-route must have been

~~the oldest path connecting India with China, but the records obtained in this connections are not older than those relating to the older route.~~

१. ~~आभ्यास~~

~~(India and China established cultural contact through Buddhism, but neither Buddhism nor any other religion propagates its creed in a country through theology and ritual alone, nor can it be very successful in its mission, if it does so. That is why a missionary of religion carries along with him the art, literature, philosophy and numerous other cultural contributions of his country. When Roman Catholic Christianity reached Western Europe, it took with it Roman art and Roman script also. Wherever Roman Catholicism went, Roman script also prevails there to this day. Similarly in Slav countries it was mostly Greek Church that propagated Christianity; there, in Russia, Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, etc. the Greek script prevails to this day. Nestorian Christianity had been popular in Central Asia and we still find relics of this in the form of the Mongol script. India too during the golden period of its cultural advance gave to various countries of Asia not only the Buddhist religion, but also its art, script, literature, etc. to enrich their cultural life. In Eastern-central Asia (Sinkiang) the Indian script was current in one time. The scripts of Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Tibet are even today developed versions of the Indian script, and use vowels and consonants resembling ours in sounds and in the same order.) China had its own script and India did not have to transport its own script there. (In art and literature too China was not a backward country, but it was willing to learn from India. The beautiful sculptures and paintings of Tun-Huang and other places in the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ are indicative of this.) The works of our great writers, Ashvaghosa, etc. having been translated into Chinese, enriched the literature of that country and gave it versatility. Two great translators of Indian books, Kumarajiva and Hiuen-Tsang are considered to be the great masters of Chinese language and literature.~~

२. ~~धार्मिक~~

THE ARRIVAL OF BUDDHISM

In China we find traditions which try to prove that Buddhism had reached there two centuries before Christ, but they are not above discount. Still, if we include the boundaries of the modern

Chinese Republic, Buddhism may be said to have reached Sinkiang at least three centuries before Christ. But Buddhism had certainly reached China during the reign of the Han dynasty (25-220 AD). Emperor Ming-ti (58-75) of this dynasty was a friend of Buddhism. It has been considered necessary to relate everything to kingship during the ages of monarchy, otherwise it was not possible for Buddhism to have entered China in the middle of the second century before Christ, when Chinese influence began to spread in Sinkiang. By 111, the whole of Sinkiang was in Chinese possession: here, Buddhism dominated the scene for ten to twelve centuries. If the Turkish Emperor Toba (56-80) and his subjects could be influenced by a single Buddhist war prisoner, it cannot be possible that lakhs of Saka and Hun Buddhist war prisoners who came into China, did not leave any impression of Buddhism on the Chinese people. The conversion of Ming-ti only means that Buddhism now came to be respected among the Chinese feudal class also. Ming-ti sent out representatives to bring back with them Buddhist religious books and monks. It was with these that two Indian monks, Kashyapa Matanga and Dharma-Ratna, came to China with Buddhist religious books in 67 AD. The oldest translation of an Indian book into Chinese was made by Kashyapa and is available even now. Ming-ti gave a great welcome to these monks, as they entered his capital, Loyang, riding white horses, and he built a monastery, Pei-Ma-Ssu (*Shwetashva Vihara*) for them. Kashyapa was a resident of Madhya Mandala. In Buddhist works the country between Kurukshetra and the Santhala Parganas and between the Himalayas and Vinhyachala, that is Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, is described as Madhya Mandala. Kashyapa was the master of the Southern Hinayana school. He had gone to South India on a religious mission. His companion, Dharma-Ratna, too was a scholar from Madhya Mandala. Kashyapa and Dharma-Ratna had translated other works too, but they are not available. The service rendered by the two through their studies, teaching conversations and meeting people, was very helpful in bringing China nearer to India.

In the sphere of literature, serious work began eighty-one years after Kashyapa, when Parthian scholar Anshi-kao (148-70) reached China. Iran was under Parthian rule at this time. Both the Sakas and the Parthians came from the same ancient Saka people, who later on produced the Slav tribes of Eastern Europe. An or

Anshi is the Chinese word for Parthian. About Shih-Kao it is said that he gave up his kingdom and donned the yellow robe. Like Kashyapa he came via the Central Asian route and reached the Chinese capital Loyang in 148. He stayed in the Shwetashva monastery. In his twenty-two years of stay in China he worked untiringly to introduce Indian thought to Chinese scholars. To Anshi-Kao goes the credit of placing Buddhism on a firm foundation in China. He also strengthened the cultural relations between the two countries. Of the ninety-five books translated by him, fifty-five are available today. During the Han period China had made all-round progress. China expanded both politically and culturally during this period. She made good progress in all directions, literature, art, new inventions, etc. Indian Buddhism made its own contribution to this progress. Other translators and missionaries of this period were the Indians Mahabala (Chin-ta-li) and Dharmapala (Than-kao), and the Tadjiks Kang-chu and Kang-mang-Hsiang. During this period Indian thought and culture received such a warm welcome in China that more scholars came from Khotan, Sogdia (Tadjikistan), India and Lanka to participate in this work. In China the teachings of Confucious were the most forward in support of the feudal lords and were widely current; they had no deep concern with spirituality. In the teachings of Tao there was mysticism, but it had greater indifference towards this world. A contemporary Chinese scholar explains why Chinese thinkers were drawn towards Buddhism: "Confucius teaching has no answer to give to the most serious problems of the existence. It can give man neither strength in the life-struggle, nor solace at the time of death." Our Indian representatives were ever prepared for a synthesis and compromise with the Chinese thought. In the second century there was a famous Buddhist scholar, Muchu, in Southern China. His opinion was this: "Confucianism might be the religion of kings, but Buddhism is the religion of the peoples. The teachings of Buddhism are not against the ancient Chinese religious thought. Their ideas are the same. It is possible for an individual conform to both. If Buddhist ideas are accepted along with our own noble thoughts, it would be good. A wise man accepts good things, wherever they may come from; he is prepared to accept teaching from others."

Among Indian scholars Dharma-Raksha occupies an important place in China. This great intellectual and scholar originally came

from the Sakas of Central Asia and came to India in the course of his wanderings. He knew thirty-six languages. He was filled with zeal to propagate Indian culture. In 284, he reached Chang-An, one of the capitals of China, and stayed there for twenty-nine years (284-313) fulfilling his mission. Thousands of Chinese students learnt knowledge from him, and even larger numbers benefited from his teachings. He translated two hundred and eleven Indian books into the Chinese language; of these ninety-two are still available. Kumarajiva is remembered not only as a great translator of China, but also as one of its great literary figures. Kumara-jiva reached China in 385 and stayed there for twenty-seven years creating high literary work.

FA-HSIEN

Indian missionaries were not alone in carrying in the task of strengthening relations between India and China. Many Chinese also helped in this work. The travels of Fa-Hsien, Hsuen-Tsang and I-Tsing not only brought India and China nearer, but their travel accounts are priceless treasures for Indian history. It is regrettable that our writers did not make our people as well acquainted with China, as Chinese writers made their people with India.

Fa-Hsien was the first Chinese pilgrim to reach India. Other Chinese traders etc. may have come earlier than this, but they have left no records of this. Towards the end of the fourth century the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta Vikramaditya ruled over most of the country. This was the age of Kalidasa. This was the golden age of Indian culture. It was at this time, in 399 that a party of Chinese youth, started for the first time on a pilgrimage to India, the centre of Buddhist culture and religion.

Fa-Hsien was the leader of this party. He spent fifteen years, from 399 to 414 in his travels in India and obtained a very deep understanding of Indian life. Fa-Hsien was born in the modern region of Shanshi. His parents had initiated him into Buddhist orders in his childhood and put in a monastery. He was very fond of studying the Buddhist law, Vinaya, but these books were rare in China in those times. He left the capital, Chang-An in 399 to make these scriptures available in China and to visit the holy places of India. He took the Central Asian route and passing

through the deserts reached Turfan. He arrived in Khotan after experiencing great difficulties, taking thirty-five days to cross the desert of Takla Makan. Khotan had been Buddhist country for the last four centuries. There were fine students and teachers of Buddhist scripture here. From Khotan he reached Kashmir after travelling fifty-four days; then passing through Punjab and visiting various holy places, he continued his study of sacred Buddhist texts. Nalanda had not yet acquired its later fame, but there were similar other viharas. On his return journey he took the sea-route via Ceylon and Java. Fa-Hsien died in South-China at the age of eighty-six. He translated many Buddhist works which was valuable not only for the Buddhist religion, but also for Indian history. Praising the travels and courage of Fa-Hsien, his translator Gibbs writes, "The travels of St. Paul pale into insignificance when compared with those of Fa-Hsien." Fa-Hsien himself writes while concluding his travel records: "When I look back and recall what situations I have had to pass through, my heart is agitated and I begin to sweat. I faced such dangers, passed through so many dangerous places without any consideration for myself, without hesitation; I could do all this, because I had a definite aim before me... I had carried myself to a point, where death seemed almost certain, but I was prepared for all this if I could achieve even one-ten thousandth part of my aim." The courage of Fa-Hsien was amazing: his name will always be remembered in our country with respect and gratitude. This is certain. But we must also remember that we had our own Fa-Hsien, Kashyapa Matanga, Dharmapala, Sanghavarman, Dharma-Raksha, Sanghadeva, Dharma-Ratna, Kumarajiva, Gunavarman, Gunabh, Paramartha, Gautama Gyanaruchi, Jinagupta, Divakar, Shikshananda, Bodhiruchi, Amoghavajra, Dharmadeva, Danapala who went to China and Jinamitra, Dana-Shila, Santarakshita, Kamala-shila, Smriti-Jnana-Kirti, Dipankara Srijnana, Gayadhar and Sakya Sridhan who went to Tibet did not face fewer difficulties. Their work was no less important. But they have left no record for us of their travel-dangers and sufferings and eye-witness accounts of the countries they visited. The reason for this may be an indifference towards these things in our country. But these bones scattered in Loyang, Chang-An, Nan-king and many other places in China constantly arouse this feeling in our hearts that we cannot allow their work to die out.

North China has centres of cultural and political life like Peking and Chang-An. The fertile valley of Hwang Ho too is here. From the beginning of history it has led the Chinese people, but it has also been the happy hunting ground for foreign invaders since not only the beginning of history, but even previous to that. These foreign invaders were all of them nomads from the north whose cultural development was of a very low level. (But a higher culture, which is related to more developed productive capacity, has succeeded everywhere, is leaving its impress on the socially backward victors.) In India the higher civilisation of the Indus valley had the same influence on the Aryan nomads. In China too its higher culture effected the Hun, Uighur, Turk, Kitan, Tartar, Mongol and Manchu victors similarly. (The cruel barbarian invaders burnt and pillaged Chinese cities, massacred the inhabitants and made rivers of blood flow through the land, but in the end they were sinocised.) It was not possible to raise these nomads to the cultural level prevailing elsewhere until the beginning of the nineteenth century. So long as war weapons were fashioned as handicraft and great workshops operated by steam and electricity had not come into existence, it was impossible to keep these wanderers suppressed. Like the earlier conquerors they continued to build up huge empires. This happened till the middle of the 18th century. The Mongol nomads had established a huge empire spreading from Lake Baikal to the borders of Kabul. But soon after the battle of Plassey, the modern age of machinery begins in Europe. All important inventions are used first of all for war purposes. While the enemies of the Mongols, China and Russia used big arms, modern arms, these nomads could not do so. (Russia and China have brought these nomads from the primitive tribal or nomadic-feudal age into the age of socialism in one leap; now there is no longer the possibility of old dangers in these countries.)

Such dangers were common in North China. When the political and military strength of China was great, they were checked by arms or money. Otherwise plunder and loot prevailed in the land all time. In the years between 420-89 there was great political and social unrest in North China. The chief reason for this was the land system and the great increase in taxation. Owing to political chaos and famine, small but rich and powerful landlords were compelled to sell their land at nominal prices to those who were stronger and richer. People gave up their lands to a Buddhist monastery or

~~Tao-math to escape the oppressive burden of taxation and had some member of the family appointed there as the Mahant or Father Superior. Though it means a great increase in the wealth of Buddhist monasteries, it also gave a death blow to the sense of sacrifice and idealism. Still, it did not mean the decay of Buddhism. The Toba dynasty, descended from the Huns, ruled over a large part of northern China. This dynasty was under the strong influence of the Chinese Buddhist monk Shih-teh-yao. He inspired the Toba Emperor Wei-yi (460-65) to carve the Yuan-Kong caves in Shansi province, resembling to our Ajanta and Ellora caves, out of the mountain side. There are several statues of the Buddha here, the biggest of which is 70 feet high. India never erected such large-sized statues of the Buddha. The Toba Emperor Esin-wen-ti (466-71) had a 43 feet high metal statue of the Buddha cast. It took 180 piculs of bronze and six piculs gold. This emperor was such a great devotee of Buddhism that casting aside his empire, he gave all his time to the pursuit of religion.~~

~~In the Toba period also Buddhist works continued to be translated into Chinese with great zest. Dharmaruchi, a monk from South India, and Ratnamati from North India translated numerous works. The Indian monk, Tripitakacharya Bodhiruchi stayed in Loyang from 508-35 and translated 29 Indian works, of which ten are still extant. Bodhiruchi was greatly desirous of spreading Indian culture and Buddhist religion in foreign lands. From India he went to Kashmir; crossing thence the Himalayan ranges, he reached Loyang via Central Asia in 508. It is said that there were 3000 Indians in Northern China during this time, of whom there were 700 Sanskrit-knowing monks.~~

~~Bodhidharma reached Canton in 520. He did not translate any work, but his influence on Chinese and Japanese Buddhists was immense. He was the son of some king of Southern India. From Canton he reached Nanking, the capital of Southern China. There he met the emperor. He had spent huge amount of money for Buddhism and building monasteries. When questioned by the emperor, Bodhidharma replied, "You have earned no merit by building temples and getting Sanskrit books translated." He was a carefree sadhu and was no respecter of persons.~~

~~With the increase in Buddhist influence it was inevitable that great wealth should be accumulated in monasteries. One of the Toba emperors gave up his kingdom and served the Buddhist.~~

religion. In Southern China also every ruling monarch was a plaything in the hands of Buddhist high-priests. In Loyang, the capital of the Wei dynasty in the years 500-15 there were 3000 foreign monks. During the reign of Lui-Sung emperors thousands of stupas and Buddhist monasteries were erected; they accumulated huge amounts of movable and immovable property. Among those dispossessed of land, many donned the yellow robe to escape poverty, unemployment or military service. A contemporary historian writes: "After 520-525 AD the empire was faced with very great difficulties. The services extracted from the people were becoming increasingly unbearable. Everywhere people were entering monasteries under the pretence of religious fervour. The aim was avoidance of military service. China had never seen such vice and sin after the spread of Buddhism. Even on a rough count the number of monks and nuns would have been twenty lacs and their monasteries were over thirty thousands in number." }✓

But there was another side to the medal. Buddhism rendered valuable services to Chinese literature. Its contribution to Chinese art will be ever remembered. The paintings done in China at that time have perished, but the Buddhist paintings in the caves of Tun-Huang (Central Asia) reveal that they added the glory of China to the same degree in painting as in sculpture of that time have been discovered in Shansi, Hupeh, Shantung, Hunnan, Shensi and Kansu regions. There is hardly a great museum in the world which contains no specimen of art found in these regions. The northern Emperor Toba-chen and his successors took such good steps to protect contemporary sculpture that much of it has been secured even after the destruction caused by man. Between 414-520 the Toba emperors had many monasteries carved out of mountain-sides, first near the capital Wei and then near modern Ta-tung in Shansi. This was also the time when the caves of Ajanta were being done. These cave monasteries built, of which the most important are Tai-yuan in Shansi, Li-cheng in Shantung, Lu-men near Loyang, and Tung-huan in Central Asia. The art of these places seems to be greatly influenced by Gandhara (Taxila-Peshawar) and Mathura art. It is very possible that Indian artists had a hand in setting up these great art-monuments, just as Indian scholars helped in literary creation by going to China.

Between 1913-14 various groups of western investigators went to Central Asia and several other parts of China. There was Leacock leading the German group, Aurel Stein of the British group (1914), the French Vassey and a group of the Russian Academy carrying on investigations. The French group in the course of its investigations reached Szechwang, where valuable belongings of the period before 7th century AD were discovered. These caves are no less significant than those of Tung-Huan. The first relics here are those of Fu-kang (Buddha's shrine) and Chien-fu-ting (thousand Buddhas' leak). The cave monastery of Chien-fu-ting is on a mountain's side near the city of Kwang-Ywen; it has over 700-cells. This was built by a Chinese mandarin Wei-Kang. In many of the cells there are statues of Bodhisattvas and monks. In these caves there are many inscriptions of which some are from the Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching (Manchu) periods also. A few miles away from this place there are many caves in Huang-chiau-Tsu also. There are some beautiful paintings here. Here also there is a sixteen feet statue of the Buddha in a reverie.

MUSIC

China has its own national music which has very little resemblance with of other countries. In India singing is accompanied by instruments like veena (a string instrument) and the flute. But in China the accompaniment consists of instruments played by hands. This is true today also. We learn from scenes inscribed in these caves in the sixth century that instruments like veena and flute were in the beginning to be used at that time, but this was discontinued later. It was a great problem with the early Buddhist preachers, to render Buddhist prayers and hymns into Chinese. Chinese words are monosyllabic, whereas Sanskrit ones are polysyllabic. They needed a much which could be joined together both by native as well as foreign devotees. It is said that a Wei prince had composed 42 such songs, some of which were extant in the sixth and seventh centuries. At the end of the fifth century also a prince from South China had composed some songs. It is written in the history of this dynasty that in 487 the prince "called together a large number of monks to compose tunes for religious verses". The songs prepared by them greatly impressed Japanese pilgrims arriving three centuries later.

After Fa-Hsien, regular band of pilgrims came to India from China. Among the pilgrims who arrived in India in 516, there was a former queen of the Wei dynasty. In 518, there came Sung-Yung, a lay brother, with many companies and a monk Hui-Chen, on a pilgrimage to Gandhara by the Central Asian route. This country was ruled by the Turks at this time and they were greatly under the influence of Buddhism. In 522 Hui-Chen returned to China with 170 books. The original travel-account of this pilgrim is not now available, but we still come across many of his statements quoted by others in 547. (There was rivalry between the Confucian, Tao and Buddhist religions till the fourth century, but attempts began with the fifth century to make a synthesis of the three religions.) An influential feudal lord of South China, Chiang-Yuh (447-97) said on his death-bed: "Give me Confucian books in my left hand and Buddhist scriptures in my right hand." Another famous scholar, Fu-Shi (497-579) always wore a Tao cap, Confucian shoes and a Buddhist shawl round his neck.

We cannot describe here all the references made in Chinese books to Chinese pilgrims and devotees coming to India for a pilgrimage. Many of these pilgrims wrote accounts of their travels of which only a few are known in our country. These accounts throw a good deal of light on conditions prevailing then in India. Shih-Chieh-Mang (404-53) came to India for a pilgrimage in 404 with fourteen companions. Fa-Hsien had by then gone back from his pilgrimage. Shih-Chieh-Mang took the road across Central Asia and the Pamir. Many of his companions could not complete the journey. But he crossed the Indus Valley with four companions and advanced towards the places of pilgrimage in India. At Patna (Kusumpura) he met a famous Buddhist scholar, Rewat. The emperor (perhaps Chandragupta Vikramaditya) had great regards for Rewat. He had erected a huge thirty feet high stupa of silver. Rewat was very pleased to know that Buddhism was flourishing and gaining strength in distant China. Rewat had given many Buddhist works to Fa-Hsien. He gave many books to Chieh-Mang also.

Of the Sanskrit works translated into Chinese very few remain today, but still the Chinese Tripitaka reveals that they must be in volume more than a dozen Mahabharatas. Many books and works of art were destroyed in wars and other disturbances.

Emperor Liang-Yuan-ti (552-55) was a great scholar and lover of knowledge. There were one lakh and forty thousand books in his library. When his northern enemies, the Wei-Yis reached the gates of his capital, he had his palace set on fire. Such disturbances destroyed not only translated works, but also many of those palm-leaf-scripts which had gone to China from India in a large number. There were such a fierce wars and pillage in China that it would be difficult to recover from there an appreciable number of original Sanskrit manuscripts. We know that of the Indian works translated into Chinese or Tibetan, there are hardly one per cent extant in India. But there is still hope of our obtaining much materials from the deserts of Central Asia and some ruins of China. There can be no parallel in capitalist countries for the help which the Soviet government is rendering to archaeological researches in its own country. For the last many years large number of experts, archaeological investigators have been working in the desert of Soviet Central Asia. They have all possible facilities for transport placed at their disposal, aeroplanes, motor cars, camels and horses, and the government spends money freely to help them. Similar are our hopes from new China. Then we shall also discover valuable treasures of Indian art and literature.

Among Indian translators, a high place is occupied by Paramartha (498-569). He was born in an educated Brahmin family of Ujjain. He left his country after a deep study of Brahmin and Buddhist scriptures. He was then living in the Gupta capital, Pataliputra. About this time a Chinese mission arrived in Magadha in 539, the purpose of which was to take back with it to China Sanskrit manuscripts and some great scholars. Paramartha agreed to go to China. He reached Nanking in 546 by the sea-route. Paramartha could not always get government help owing to political troubles, still he continued to do his work in one place or another. Once he had a desire to return to his own country, but he could not do so. Once he wanted to put an end to his life, getting quite fed up, but his Chinese friends did not let him do this. He died at the age of 71 years. A stupa was erected over his ashes in the city of Canton. Paramartha was a great scholar. He translated the largest number of Indian books next to Kumarajiva. He translated 70 books of which 32 are available now.

Narendrayasha was a courageous traveller and scholar monk who left for China towards the middle of the sixth century. He was born in the province of Udyan (Swat). He wandered through various places in India and Ceylon acquiring learning for years. He returned home after completing his studies, and crossing the difficult Karakorum pass he reached the country of the Uighurs via Central Asia. There was a great struggle going on between the Uighurs and the Turks for supremacy and the star of Uighurs was pretty near setting. The road to China was closed owing to the war, therefore Narendrayasha went to the country of the Uighurs with his companions between 552-55 AD. The Turks completely smashed the power of the Uighurs and drove them westwards. Narendrayasha trying to avoid scenes of battle reached 7000 li to the north, a huge lake called Ni. In the opinion of scholars it was the same lake which we call Baikal today. An Indian wanderer had reached the shores of Baikal in Siberia in the middle of the sixth century. In 556, after the war had ended, Narendrayasha reached the Chinese capital. He translated seven books.

The Sui dynasty ruled only thirty-seven years, but it performed the great task of unifying the whole of China. This dynasty multiplied wealth in the land by digging huge canals and erecting big dams. The first Sui emperor checked oppression against Buddhism and withdrew the royal decrees formerly issued against it. The Indian scholars began to arrive in China. The Indian monk Dharmagupta reached the capital Chang-An, by the Central Asian route in 590. Of the eighteen works translated by him, ten are extant. Five Indian scholars came to China in the Sui period. Of their sixty translations we find fifty-eight even now.

After Sui dynasty the Tang dynasty (618-907) continued its work preserving the unity of China. It was at this time that the famous Chinese pilgrim and scholar Hiuen-tsang came to India. In the opening years of the Tang dynasty the Buddhists were cruelly suppressed. The property of many monasteries was confiscated on the charge that the Buddhist made people indolent and large number of monks and nuns were penalised. In these circumstances Hiuen-Tsang considered it best to leave his country and go to India. In 629 he started for India by the Central Asian route and returned to his country after 16 years in 645. By

this time the oppression against the Buddhists had ended and the famous pilgrim was honoured greatly on his return to home. Hiuen-Tsang started writing an account of his travels. The second part of the travel accounts was written by a disciple of Hiuen-Tsang and a biography of the great traveller was completed by his two disciples in 665. Hiuen-Tsang translated 75 serious works from Sanskrit. He had studied many years at Nalanda. He was very intimate with Indian scholars and regularly corresponded with them. Hiuen-Tsang had written a letter to his friend Jina Prabha who had returned to India after some years stay in China. A Chinese translation of this letter originally written in Sanskrit is still in existence. Here are some extracts from this letter:

✓ "A few years ago when ambassador returned, I learnt that the great Acharya Shil Bhadra is no longer alive. I was plunged in great sorrow, when I heard this. Oh! in this ocean of grief the ship sank. The eyes of gods and men were dimmed. Is it possible to express the pain caused by his setting China? When in ancient times, when Pragya (Buddha) withdrew his light, his great work was advanced by Kashyapa. When Shanbhasa departed this world, the good law was revealed by Upagupta. And now... when the leader of our faith (Shil Bhadra) has achieved true glory (Nirvana) the Acharya of our religion will have to fulfill their duty in his turn... of the scriptures and the commentaries I had brought with me. I have almost completed the translation of about 30 volumes... In a boat accident on the Sin-tu (Sindhu) I lost a bundle of manuscript. The undermentioned books were destroyed in this accident. If possible, please send them to me. I am sending you a few things as gifts. I request you kindly to accept them."

Acharya Shil Bhadra was the kulapati (head of the community) at Nalanda. At this time ten thousand students and teachers were in residence at Nalanda. Shil Bhadra was the teacher of Hiuen-Tsang also. This letter of Hiuen-Tsang reveals how intimate were the relations between Chinese and Indian scholars at that time. The letter sounds very much like modern correspondence. But in those times there were no arrangements for post, nor was there any other regular intercourse. Whenever travellers came by land or sea such letters and gifts were sent through them.

Hiuen-Tsang had returned to his country in 645. I-Tsing

began his travels of India 26 years after this in 671 and returned China in 690, 19 years later. Most of his time was spent in Gandhara, Kashmir and other important parts of India. The travel accounts of I-Tsing also is very educative. It reveals that scholars used to flock in India from various parts of Asia for purpose of study. He had met Buddha-Dharma, a monk from Tishar (Middle Oxus valley), who informed him that Buddhism was very popular in his country. In physique he was strong and well built, but his temper was very sweet. He had also travelled in China and had come to Nalanda, from there he went to Laos and met Sanghavarma, a monk from Central Asia. He was an inhabitant of Sogdia (Samarkand). He had crossed the desert in his youth to reach China. He was sent to India by the Tang emperor along with his ambassador in 656-60. He spent a good deal of time at Vajrasana (Bodh Gaya) in meditation and devotion. When he learnt on his return from China the famine and epidemic were raging in Cochin China he left to aid the distressed with help from the Chinese emperor. He used to distribute grain and cry over the sorrows of the stricken and orphaned every day. He was called by the people "the crying Bodhisattva". He himself caught the infection and died at the age of 60.

With the help and inspiration of Indian teachers China made new progress in astronomy and mathematics. In 618 an Indian scholar drew up a new calendar for the first Tang emperor. A hundred years later the Chinese monk I-Tsing (685-747), disciple of the Indian scholar Shubhakar Singh Vajrabodhi, calculated that the solar year comprises 365.244 days and the lunar month 29.53 days. In 721 the government accepted this revised calendar. The Buddhists had a very large share in popularising medical science. Every monastery had a public dispensary attached to it. Young monks were selected from the monasteries to go to Chang-An and learn the science of medicine. There were faults also in this vast mass of monks, but there were other reasons for the state being zealous of them. The fine organisation of the monks was state within the state, which those in authority feared all the time. They constantly complained. The statistic of the government revealed that in the fourth lunar month of the year 845, there were in China four thousand six hundred monasteries, 40,000 temples, two lakh and sixty thousand monks and

nuns. In 848 the state confiscated all the property of Buddhist monasteries. The ministers prayed to the emperor "to leave one monastery in each regional city and to have statues with calm and holy faces placed in the temples in towns below the status of a regional city: to permit only ten monasteries to stand on the royal road between the two capitals (Loyang and Chang-An) and allow only ten monks to stay in each one of them". The emperor issued his order: "if there is an artistic monastery in a regional city, it may remain, otherwise it is to be destroyed". The ministry further advised: the bronze images of these ruined temples may be handed over to the custodian officer for golden iron, so that he may have coins cast by melting them. The iron images may be handed to the regional officer so that he may have agricultural implements made out of them. Statues of gold, silver and similar valuable materials may be handed over to the managing committee incharge of the state treasury. A month's time may be granted to respectable and wealthy people to hand over all the images in their households to government officers. In the end of the eighth lunar month the emperor proclaimed: "We order that 4,600 monasteries be destroyed, that two lacs sixty thousand and five hundred monks and nuns return to family life and that they should pay taxes every second year from now; that forty thousand temples be destroyed; ten lac acres of available land be confiscated; there ten lac men and women slaves be set free..."

Thus the Tang dynasty oppressed the Buddhists cruelly in the middle of ninth century. China had witnessed many such persecutions of Buddhism, yet it had retained the respect of the people, because they could never forget the services rendered by it.

Buddhism being a popular religion had been the first to use the printing press in China. Some works of Buddhism needed 50,000 copies of daily readings. They noticed that just as a seal was made with reverse lettering for imprint on paper, small books could be printed similarly. In 868 the Prañaparamita of Vajra-Bodhi was printed. By the end of the ninth century Cheng-Ti had become a centre for such printing. In 929 the royal dynasty of Loyang occupied Chieh-Chuang and ruled over it for five years. Here they learnt what a printing press is. Between 971-83 the Chinese Buddhists printed the whole of the

Tripitaka in five thousand parts. Copies of this reached Korea in 985, and Japan in 987. Thus by the end of the tenth century, the art of printing had become very popular in China. But it was very different from modern printing. The reason for not doing it can also be that in the Chinese script it is not pronunciation which is indicated but the meaning of the word. Thus there are thousand of letters. If the Chinese script had only 40 to 42 letters like ours, then China would be perhaps have invented types also. In the age of the Sungs (972-1052), printed books became extremely popular. In the time of the Kitan Tatar (Tartar) (907-60) and Sung dynasties, thirty-one Indian scholars performed the works of religious teachings and translations. This may be considered to be the translation era. After 1053 we find only a single Indian scholar, Dhyanabhadra (d. 1363) in the Mongol court. Another reason for the work of translation coming to an end by the middle of the eleventh century was that there were few important Buddhist works left for translation now. By the end of the twelfth-century the star of Buddhism begins to set in India also, hence there is no possibility of Indian scholars going to China. Though Chinghiz Khan was not a Buddhist, he certainly had a soft corner for Buddhists. He had entrusted the responsibility for the education and upbringing of his grandson, Kublai Khan and others to a Buddhist scholar. Later on Kublai Khan (1260-94) accepted Buddhism. Buddhism had been such a force in the cultural advance of the nomadic Mongols that later on it became their communal and natural religion. There was no Buddhism in India now, but the work of spreading Buddhism among the Mongols was performed by Tibetan masters. The greater part of the Mongol Tripitaka is a translation of the Tibetan Tripitaka (Kanjoor-Tanjoor).

Buddhism had been the link between India and most of the outside world. This relationship began to decline with the destruction of Buddhism. Our subjection also helped to weaken memories of such cultural relationship. After centuries India is again today in a position to revive these ancient cultural relations.

From what we know of the ancient cultural relations between India and China, we learn that our ancestors had done much to strengthen fraternal relations between the two countries. Today

new China is creating a glorious, new economic, cultural, political and social life for herself. Our country is watching her with great sympathy, regard and curiosity. There is no doubt that the experience of China will be a beacon-light for us, and it is natural and desirable at such a time for our thoughts to turn to the sacred memories of our ancient relations.

The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India

INDIA IS THE country where Buddhism was born; and where from the River Kosi to Sarasvati and from Vindhya to Himalaya, Buddha taught his doctrine wandering from place to place during forty-five years. Where from king to beggar, from illiterate to philosopher, from the common people to the greatest intellects, all were vying with one another in their love of Buddhism through many centuries. Where in hills and forests, in every city, in every town, and even in the village, the quiet, calm hermitages, the monasteries and the universities of the Buddhist monks were spread; in which for thousands of years students from the various countries of the world came to learn the sublime teachings of the Buddha, the love and brotherhood of all humanity. The country where the great thinkers, great mystics, great sages of Buddhism by their uncommon intellect and supreme wisdom made a great impression upon the thought of the people. The great sculptors and artists of Buddhism hewed great cave temples and stupas from the living rocks such as Barabar, Ajanta, Ellora and others which are to this day among the great achievements of humankind; the country whence messages of peace and love were sent to far away countries, from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, from Altai to Oceania; and the great civilised people such as the Greeks and Chinese were profoundly influenced by the valuable teachings of the Sage. Even now the religion which was born here, has the greatest following among the world religions.

How it was possible for India to lose Buddhism is a strange and painful question, with which I am going to deal here in brief.

This article was written in London in 1932. It appeared in the journal *The Maha Bodhi* (Calcutta) in two issues of December 1932 and March-April 1933.

There is no doubt that Buddhism disappeared from India some seven centuries ago. What was the condition of Buddhism in those days? What were the internal and external affairs of the country; and how it arrived in condition then. These tell us the history of the rise and fall of Buddhism in India. Therefore we must begin from the beginning of the history of Buddhism.

At or about 483 BC is the time of the Buddha's demise. Then and up till the four centuries afterwards, the teachings of the Buddha and his sermons were preserved in the memories of his disciples. These teachings are called the Dhamma. When they were collected in regular form they became known as the Sutta Pitaka. The injunctions or the rules of discipline for monks are known as Vinaya Pitaka. In the same year that the Buddha died, in the rainy season, in the Saptaparni cave near Rajagriha, the disciples under the leadership of Mahakasyapa collected his teachings. There Ananda the attendant disciple of the Buddha was accepted as an authority on the discourses of Buddha, and Upali as an authority on the Vinaya.

In Buddhism, not-killing, not-stealing and other ethical rules are called Sila, and the discussion of Skandha, Ayathana, Dhatu, etc. which are more abstruse, are called Prajna—which is also known as Vidya or knowledge, or, to use a more modern term, philosophy. Sila and Prajna are most essential things in Buddhism for achieving the highest goal. In some of the discourses of the Buddha, philosophy and philosophical terms are more extensively discussed and those terms collected in one place are known as Matika. Later they were more elaborated and by the time they had become more venerated they came to be considered as a part of the Buddha's teaching, and they became known as Abhidhamma Pitaka. This Abhidhamma Pitaka came into existence centuries after the demise of the Buddha; but the main theme in a nutshell was present in the discourses themselves.

At first all these discourses were learned by heart and were not recorded in writing. Those who took to memorise the sutras were known as Sutradharas or Dhammadharas (keepers of Dhamma) in those days. Those who were learned in Vinaya, were known as Vinayadhara or keepers of Vinaya. Similarly, those who were custodians of the Matikas, were known as Matikadhara, that is keepers of Matika. Afterwards when the com-

plete Abhidhamma Pitaka had come into existence, these Matika-
~~tharas became known as Abhidharmikas.~~

One hundred years after the "Parinibbana" of the Buddha, the monks of Vaisali, known as Vajjiputtaka ~~began to neglect some of the monastic rules for the sake of gain, by allowing themselves to accept silver and gold and to indulge in other things which were forbidden to monks.~~ They formulated ten indulgences which were quite contrary to Vinaya. Thereupon there arose a dissension which divided the Buddhist church into two. ~~Those who adhered to the original rules were known as Sthavira or followers of the elders; whereas the other monks who comprised a large number, were known as Mahasanghikas, named after the great federation or Mahasangha.~~ About one and a quarter centuries afterwards, until the time of the Emperor Asoka, ~~there were many schisms in the Buddhist Church, and it was divided into eighteen schools.~~ Those which originated from Sthavira were twelve, namely:

1. Vassiputraka or Vajjiputtaka, 2. Mahisasaka, 3. Sautrantika, 4. Sarvastivada, 5. Kasyapiya, 6. Samkrantika, 7. Sammitiya, 8. Sannagarika, 9. Bhadrayanika, 10. Dharmaguptika, 11. Dharmottariya, and 12 Sthaviras, and from Mahasanghika there arose seven more sects:

1. Gokulika, 2. Ekavyavaharika, 3. Prajnaptivada, 4. Lokattaravada, 5. Bahulika, 6. Caitavada, 7. Mahasanghika.

There were some differences in regard to their tenets. ~~According to Sthavira, Buddha was a man and human; but with all the best human qualities, perfect in knowledge, in wisdom and character; who having compassion towards human beings, wandered from place to place showing the path to the people.~~ Being human, his body was subject to old age, disease and decaying. Others, however, made ~~Buddha something superhuman in the garb of man.~~ There are differences among these eighteen sects, who by additions and substractions made their sutras and Vinaya into conformity with their opinions. In order to verify the teaching of the Buddha and to decide against heresies there, during the time of Emperor Asoka there was held the Third Council of monks, under the leadership of Maggaliputta Tissa in Patna ~~where they decided the points at issue.~~ There they rehearsed the whole Dhamma and Vinaya. While the orthodox school was

thus holding its sitting at Pataliputra (Patna). Sarvastivadins and other schools held their council at Nalanda, and from that time Nalanda became the seat of Sarvastivadins in Magadha. It had been a sacred place before that, being the birthplace of the Buddha's chief disciple Sariputra; but this council gave especial fame to it.

When the third council had completed its work, with the help of Emperor Asoka, the head of the Sangha sent several monks to different countries beyond India in order to propagate Buddhism. That was the first time in the history of India and also of the world, that an organised mission had been sent out to propagate religion beyond its birthplace. About twenty-three centuries before, the Indian religion went to Greece, Babylonia, Persia, Bactria, Ceylon, Burma, Central Asia and other countries. Ceylon was singled out for special honour by the head of the Church and Emperor Asoka; and the crown prince Mahinda, who foresook his crown to become a monk was sent along five of his companions to Ceylon to preach the Dhamma there. The king of Ceylon Devanampiya Tissa became a convert to Buddhism, and with him the whole population of the country turned toward Buddhism. In order to establish the Order of nuns in Ceylon the king sent a messenger to Emperor Asoka; and the royal princess, the nun Sanghamittra, the elder Mahinda's sister came to Ceylon with a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree at Gaya, under which Buddha had become enlightened. From that time until now, Ceylon has been the home of the orthodox Church and has kept intact the teaching of the Buddha in its purest form. In the meantime, when there was a decline of Buddhism in Burma, Siam and Cambodia, Ceylon sent her missionaries to those countries and they were converted to the orthodox Church (Theravada). The Buddhism of these countries is officially called Theravada; and it is generally known as Southern Buddhism or Hinayana Buddhism.

Maurya emperors after the time of Asoka were generally great devotees of Buddhism; and with their munificent gifts in Magadha and in the surrounding countries, many large Buddhist monasteries and educational centres were built, after the fall of the Mauryans, the Sungas became the rulers, and for political reasons they thought it advisable to patronise Brahminism and neglected Buddhism. The times were not in their favour; and so, many of

the Buddhist schools which had their centres in Magadha, had to remove to other places, where more sympathy and devotion from the people were to be expected. Thus Sarvastivada removed its chief centres from Magadha to the country of Surasena and to Urumunda Hill (now Govardhana) near Mathura. Theravada removed its chief seat from Pataliputra¹ to Vaidisagiri (now Sanchi). During the reign of the Sungas, by imperial patronage, Brahminism revived with militant spirit. The horse-sacrifice, which was frequent a few centuries before, was again revived; the preceptor of the first Sunga Emperor Pushyamitra, the great grammarian Patanjali, became a most powerful and famous personality. It was at this time that the Brahmins began to revive the classical Sanskrit and its literature by composing such works as Mahabharata, Ramayana, Manusmriti, though only the oldest part of them belongs to that period, the other part being added afterwards. After the fall of the Mauryas, the Sungas were not the only successors to the Mauryan empire, for the southern part of that empire came into the hands of the Kalinga Emperor Kharavela; while the north-west part, as far as Mathura in the east into the hands of the Greek King Menander. The Kshatrapas of the Greek kings were ruling in Mathura and Ujjaini.

The Sarvastivada which had its headquarters in Gandhara differed a little from the Sarvastivada of Mathura and so we find three different names for it; for the oldest form of it we can use the word Sarvastivada; the second form which was prevalent in Mathura was named Arya Sarvastivada; the third form which was most prevalent in Gandhara and the surrounding countries

1. Later Mathura became the seat of the Saka Kshatrapas and they were more impressed by the Sarvastivada school. It was through them that the Kushana Emperor Kanishka became another Asoka of Buddhism; and during his reign Gandhara became the headquarters of Sarvastivada.

Like the Kshatrapas of Mathura, the Kshatrapas of Ujjaini were more interested in the Theravada, whose headquarter was in the territory near Vidisa (modern Bhilsa). By and by, in unfavourable circumstances, Theravada had removed itself from Northern India to further south and in the second and third centuries AD, it was only in some parts of Andhra and in Tamil country that it flourished up to the eighth or ninth century AD. Afterwards it was forced to remain secluded in the island of Ceylon, whence in the thirteenth century it was able to assert itself in Burma, Siam and Cambodia when the Mahayana and the last phase of Vajrayana declined in these countries.

during the Kushana rule, is known as Mula-Sarvastivada. Here also there were some differences of opinion between the Sarvastivada teachers of Kashmir and the Gandhara countries and in order to settle these controversial questions, the elders Vasumitra and Asvaghosa held a great council under the patronage of Emperor Kanishka at Jalandhara (according to others in Kashmir) where they composed three large commentaries on the three Pitakas known as Vaibhashas, which gave to its followers the name of Vaibhashika, another name for the followers of the Mula-Sarvastivada. Thus within five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, there were many differences of opinion in the Buddhist Church.

According to the Buddha's teaching there were three ways or vehicles for realising Nirvana:

- ✓ 1. Those who went to achieve their own salvation as soon as possible, without considering about others, can realise that goal by the attainment of Arhatship. This vehicle is called Arhatyana, or the vehicle of the Arhat, or Sarvakayana, the vehicle of the disciple.
- ✓ 2. Those who, together with the attainment of their own salvation, want to do some more beneficial work for others, can reach the goal by the way, which is called Pratyeka Buddhayana, or the vehicle of individual Buddha.
- ✓ 3. Those who have renounced their own salvation or Nirvana in order to help others, and to this end have dedicated their lives and who by their own efforts have been able to discover for themselves the truth about Nirvana, are known as Buddha and their vehicle is called the Buddhayana, or the vehicle of Buddha.

In the older eighteen schools, all these three vehicles were represented with equal force. The Buddhayana was a great yana (vehicle) no doubt, according to the older schools as well, but they did not denounce the other two vehicles. At the beginning of the Christian era there developed one school of thought which denounced the other two vehicles and proclaimed that the vehicle of Buddhayana is the only vehicle and that the other vehicles were so, only in name. In order to have sanction of the Buddha's teaching, they compiled many sutras and also began to proclaim the Buddha as something of a superhuman being. Even during the time of Kanishka some teachers began to em-

phasise the greatness of the Buddhayana. But it was only later that the doctrine was established, that there was only one way of salvation, the Yana of Buddha, and Bodhisattva; while others were only just to help the ignorant by showing them something to lead them to the proper path. These things were not found in the old Pitakas and many sutras such as Ratnakuta, Vaipulya and others of later origin. Thus the old tradition was violated and a breach was made for the opening of any unauthorised teaching to be proclaimed in the name of the Buddha.

Like the distortion of the sutras, there arose also many differences regarding the philosophical teaching of the Buddha. Sarvastivadins, after the time when the three Vibhasha commentaries of three Pitakas were composed, became known as Vaibhasika; their philosophy was the same as that of the Sarvastivadins. Shortly afterwards in Southern India, in the country of Vidarbha, was born Nagarjuna the great teacher of the philosophy of relativity (Madhyamika). He taught that everything existed in relation to something else and that there was no independent existence of anything. There can be good only if there is something bad as well. There can be existence, only if there is non-existence. Thus there is no independent existence of anything; or we may say that everything is nothing from the point of view of transcendental truth. This philosophy is known as Madhyamika or the philosophy of Void. Two centuries after Nagarjuna, in Vaibhasika there were some more developments. The Vaibhasikas believed regarding things external or objective and things internal or subjective, that both are real (really existing); while the followers of Nagarjuna said that because 'objective' and 'subjective' are relative terms, they have no independent existence. Then a third school arose with the idea that in reality external or objective things are only real things, the internal or subjective being only the reflection of the external, having no real existence of its own. This philosophy was called the philosophy of Sautrantikas. In order to prove their views they opposed the commentary of Vibhasha and accepted only the authority of sutras. The foremost teacher of this school was Acarya Vasubandhu of the fourth century AD. His elder brother Asanga was another remarkable personality of this time. He was the systematiser of that great school of idealistic philosophy which afterwards produced such a great logician as

Dignaga, Dharmakirti and others. According to this school, internal or subjective things are the only real things; the external is a reflection of the internal, and has no real existence. The world as we see it, is nothing but the creation of minds. This school is known as Vijnanavada or the school of Yogacara. Thus before the end of the fourth century four philosophical schools—Vaibhāsikas, Sautrāntikas, Yogācaras and Madhyamikas—were all well established. The first two were more or less the followers of the old scripture which asserted all three vehicles equal as far as attainment of Nirvana was concerned. So they were called by the others, adherents of Hinayana (little vehicle). The latter two who relied more on the later sutras of Vaipulya and other classes, named themselves, adherents of Mahayana (the Great Vehicle).

When there was plenty of new and old sutras, and when there existed no proper criterion for knowing what was genuine and what was not, when tradition also became confused, and it was difficult even for the learned to know what was the real teaching of the Buddha and what was not—at that time basing their teaching on those sutras in which the vehicle of Bodhisattva was more emphasised, there arose many teachers, who wrote a number of treatises. They also produced new sutras and proclaimed that the Vehicle of Bodhisattva or Mahayana, was the only way for the achievement of Nirvana. They emphasised that one's own salvation should not be striven for, since that is selfish and mean, but that all should aspire to Buddhahood, although Buddhahood is not an easy thing to obtain. They emphasised on Buddhahood or the life of the Bodhisattva (Buddha-elect), and were not satisfied with one Bodhisattva Maitreya, who is mentioned in the old records, and so they created many Bodhisattvas such as Avalokitesvara, Manjusri and others. The ideal of the Bodhisattva and the attainment of Buddhahood were very difficult, and so they began to beg the help of the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas (of whom also they created many).

The first image of the Buddha was made during the time of the Emperor Kanishka and after the creation of so many Bodhisattvas, there came into existence, different images of them. They were worshipped everywhere and people built great temples of

them endowed with much wealth and ornaments. Again in order to lessen the difficulty of salvation and to appeal to the popular mind, they invented many sacred places where different images of different Bodhisattvas and Buddhas were located. Also they invented many gods and goddesses, first as symbols of the different qualities of the Buddha and the more eminent Bodhisattvas, but afterwards that symbolism was lost and they became separate gods and goddesses. Thus through the advent of Mahayana, Buddhism was diverted into quite a new channel, though still retaining much of the old philosophical and ethical background.

Before the worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses originated it was considered that the repetition of sutras would bring merit; of course it was not a new thing, since it was believed even in the old schools. But Mahayana sutras sometimes were very lengthy and in order to make them shorter while obtaining some amount of merit, they composed dharanis of a few lines, which were considered to sum up the essence of the sutras, not in meaning but in spirit. These dharanis became very famous and sacred. When they also increased in numbers, then in order to shorten them, later on there came into existence many mantras or formulae of a few words which were considered to be an embodiment of those dharanis, or sometimes of worship and prayer to the Buddha, and the Bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses. Also, in order to popularise their creed, the Mahayanists symbolised some of their treatises such as the *Prajnaparamita*, etc. in the form of different gods and goddesses; and thus the number of gods and goddesses were increased and represented with strange bodies. Thus after the fifth century in many of these monasteries of Northern India, many of these images were worshipped; and many temples for them were constructed.

As time went on, the popular mind was more and more attracted towards these magnificent images and temples, so that the older schools began to lose their influence, and within those schools some monks began to be influenced by the doctrine and practice of Mahayana. Thus, during the time of Hiuén-Tsang and I-Tsing we find Mahayanist following the tenets of the Vinaya and of the Sarvastivada in the monastery of Nalanda. Because the Mahayana did not at first develop the rules of Vinaya, for their ordination and other precepts they accepted the older Vinayas. Even in the eighth century when the first monastery of Sam-ye was establish-

ed in Tibet, Tibetan monks were ordained according to the Vinaya of the Mula-Sarvastivada. From the fifth century, Mahayana came into more prominence and its monasteries and temples were patronised by the kings and wealthy people. Now they were able to attract more people of other older schools to their school.

Because the monasteries were very rich, now with good provision everywhere, many undeserving people wanted to enter the monastic life and many unworthy monks came into the order. When their number increased so that they attained a majority within the order, they began to relax many rules, and sought sanction to indulge in many vices. To that end, they composed many tantric texts into which by-and-by they introduced some practices, which were quite contrary to the ethics of Buddhism. This phase of Buddhism which was evolved out of Mahayana, is known as Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism. Since, through the spread of Mahayana, the sanctity of all sutras and tradition was broken down, it was therefore easy for these tantric Buddhists to compose many books upon their own doctrine and to propagate them secretly among their followers. They mentioned that the Buddha did not preach only one Dhamma, but three kinds of Dhammas. First he delivered his sermon at Rishipatana (Sarnath) which is known as the Sravakayana. For more evolved people, he turned the wheel of law of Mahayana a second time at Rajagriha. And for still more evolved people, Mahayana was not sufficient; so in order to help those highly evolved beings, for a third time he turned the wheel of the law of Vajrayana at Dhanyakataka in South India.

It was difficult for the Mahayanists to stop Vajrayana; because the latter used the very same logic against them that Mahayanists used against their predecessors of the oldest schools. The second thing was that the Vajrayanists did not teach openly. Their teaching was also more attractive because in their esoteric practices women and wine were most essential things. For the sake of secrecy, they invented many stages of initiations; in each stage only hinting at the teaching in the next. They composed many tantric works such as Guhyasamaja, Cakrasamvara, etc. This new cult was so attractive, and the monks wielded so much power through certain of their mystic practices, which were akin to hypnotism and spiritualism, that from the seventh century onwards their number began to increase: yet up to the end of the

eighth century they were not able to proclaim their system openly. From that time the great mystic poets such as Saraha, Kanhapa, Vajraghanta and others came into the field and by their magnetic personality, great scholarship, poetic gifts and outstanding qualities, they were able to make many converts and through their influence most of the great seats of Mahayana Buddhism were converted into Vajrayana.

It may not be assumed that all of these great mystics were attracted towards the cult of Vajrayana for the sake of sensuous pleasure. It may be that at the beginning those who were attracted for that reason might have been selfish. But afterwards, when it became a system, many were attracted to it through pure faith and great love for mystic power. No doubt many of the mystics by their practices obtained great psychic power and so unconsciously helped the cult which was able to destroy the whole ethical fervour of the monastic order. Most of the followers however got, doubtless, initiated into the cult for the sake of sensuous pleasure.

Although, after the eighth century the great monastic institutions such as Nalanda and Vikramasila became the headquarters of the Vajrayana, still, like the Mahayana, they did not discard the previous authorities. For their ordination uniform, and some external practices, they observed the rule of Vinaya or the Hinayana. They also observed the rule of the Bodhisattva life according to Mahayana, but these two things were more external or theoretical. The third thing, which was more respected, was the practice of the secret tantric cults of women, wine and mystic formulae, spirit-communion, devil-worship, etc. Now there was a vast difference between their external and internal life, their exoteric and esoteric practices; and in order to harmonise this difference they composed many philosophical and other treatises. At any rate, after the eighth century and in the Buddhism of Northern India there remained very little of the original teaching of the Buddha. In every monastery monks used to practise sorceries, incarnations and the use of oracles. The monasteries were full of hundreds of Bodhisattvas and frightful gods and goddesses often in obscene postures. The philosophy of Mahayana was still studied, but it had not so much influence, as the practices of the mystic cult. The eighty-four great mystics, who flourished from the eighth century to the beginning of the eleventh century, were able to give a great impetus to this cult. By constant practice, they succeeded in discovering some

१. इन्द्रजाल
२. जादू-टोना
३. देवदासी
४. अश्लील
५. कुत्सित

of the most astonishing psychic faculties, and all their success was obtained through this.

~~These mystics lived a strange life. Some used to make shoes, while, along with living the life of a recluse without care for money or even for comfort, but carrying on mystic practices. It was their selflessness and philosophical attainment that enabled them to do this. The first famous mystic Saraha, used to make arrowheads (sara) and so he became known as Sarahapa. Another who used always to have with him a damaru (small tambourine) was known as Damarupa. Others used to have a ragged cloth (gudari) and known as Gudaripa. They used to live in dense forests, or in cemeteries or other such fearsome places, using a human skull for a drinking vessel, and other strange things. They even used to remain in a state of drunkenness. They did not like the company of the people, though people were attracted to them in spite of being insulted and abused. These mystics had such great influence, that even kings and ministers used to offer them their daughters and other relatives, since their psychic power was considered a proof of their supernatural attainment. In those days almost all Indians from the highly educated to the illiterate, from king to pauper were great devotees of these mystics and of their cult. Kings had so much faith in their formulae and practices that they did not remain satisfied with their army but regularly employed a host of these tantrikas to perform mystic ceremonies for the protection of their realm. At such a time it was very difficult for the monks to have a pious and regulated life. In those days true Buddhist monks were very few.~~

When, at the end of the twelfth century CE the people of India were so superstitious and adhered to these heinous cults; when through the caste system, patronised by the Brahmins the nation was divided into many factions; when people even of the same caste, of high and low status, were quarrelling with one another; when the coffers of monasteries and temples held more gold, silver and jewels than the treasuries of kings; since for centuries kings and rich people vied with one another in filling them, at such a time the Turks came from the north-west and invaded the country, destroying the great temples and monasteries, considered most sacred and miraculous. Images of gods and goddesses were broken into pieces; and though the mystic priests performed their sacrifices and mystic incantations, these did not help them. Thus by

The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India

191

the beginning of the thirteenth century the whole of Northern India had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The Pala kings, who built the monastery of Udantapuri especially for the mystic monks, in order to have their help though possessing sufficient large armies, were yet so superstitious as not to rely so much upon their armies as upon magic. The result was that with two hundred horsemen only, Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiar was able to capture the capital. He destroyed the famous monastery of Nalanda, and the image of the goddess Tara, which was considered to possess great magic power, was broken and thrown down, and the great library was burnt and destroyed. The same thing happened in the case of the great monastic university of Vikramasila. Had the monasteries and temples possessed less wealth, possibly the Turks would not have destroyed them, since the Turks' principal object was to obtain their wealth. Thus it was that when Buddhism in Northern India was rotten within, that there came the Turks by whose blows it was not only shaken but brought to collapse.

A mistaken idea is current among some people to the effect that Sankaracharya not only used his great knowledge and power in debate, to defeat Buddhist scholars in discussion but that his followers compelled them to change their faith by the force of the sword; and sometimes, indeed we find passages in the books where something like this is mentioned. But if we study the whole of the historical materials available in the Brahmanic and Buddhist literature of India and abroad, together with the archæological finds, we are compelled to discard this notion.

As to the time when Sankara lived the authorities are not of one opinion, some scholars of the old type think that Sankara was a contemporary of King Vikrama who founded the Vikrama era about 57 BC. Historians, however, say that because Vacaspati wrote a commentary on Sankara's gloss of the Vedanta-sutra, therefore he cannot be later than the time of Vacaspati. The followers of Sankara themselves say that Sankara was a contemporary of the great Mimamsaka Kumarila though there is nothing in the writing of Kumarila to suggest such a thing. In any case we cannot take Sankara to be before Kumarila. Now Kumarila was a contemporary of the Buddhist logician Dharmakirti who was a contemporary of King Harsha of the seventh century CE and Vacaspati belongs to the ninth century; so that the time of

Sankara is somewhere ~~between the seventh and ninth centuries CE.~~ If we take the eighth century, we shall not be far wrong. But it is certain that Sankara was not well-known in Northern India, at least in the first half of the eighth century, ~~because Santarakshita, who criticised almost all the great philosophical theories of his contemporaries and predecessors in his famous work Tatvasangraha, never says anything about Sankara.~~ It would seem as if ~~Sankara was raised to a high position among Indian thinkers only through the commentary of Vacaspati, which is more forceful and philosophical; in other words, we might say that Sankara rose into prominence by standing on the shoulders of Vacaspati.~~

(The great exploits or conquests narrated at length in the works of Anandagiri and Madhvacharya cannot be accepted as true since ~~we find no mention of these armed crusades of Sankara against Buddhists in Buddhist records in Pali, Chinese or Tibetan.~~) If they really occurred, surely these records would have mentioned them. It is impossible to maintain that Sankara did all those things against Buddhists in the South of India; because ~~Ceylon had direct communication with South India; and in the Mahavamsa, the History of Ceylon, though the brutality of the Tamil kings is often mentioned, yet there is nothing at all said about any crusade of Sankara.~~

~~In reality Sankara may have been a gifted scholar but in comparison with great philosophers such as Dignaga, Udyotkara, Kumarila, Dharmakirti, he was nothing.~~ Also northern scholars in those days had very little respect for those of the south as is shown by Vana in his *Kadamhari*. Who knows whether, if there had been no *Bhamati* (Commentary of Sankara's gloss by Vacaspati) Sankara's gloss would have continued in existence?

It is also not true when considered from other points of view. In the eighth century CE ~~the Palas became masters of Eastern India (Bihar and Bengal) until the end of the twelfth century.~~ As rulers they ~~were staunch followers of Buddhism as is proved by all of their copper-plate inscriptions.~~ In the districts of ~~Patna, Gaya etc.² even in villages we find numerous Buddhist stone images and inscriptions belonging to that period.~~ Before

2. Especially in the villages of Kespa, Ghejap, Kurkihar, etc. where hundreds of beautiful Buddhist images of that period are found together with the well-known stanza: "Ye dharma hetupprabhava..."

The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India

193

the eighth century we have the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing for the flourishing condition of Buddhism in North India; and later on until the twelfth century, we find Buddhism in the same condition, though internally weakened by Vajrayana. In the tenth century, not only was Buddhism not declining but Buddhists were establishing new large monasteries such as Vikramasila (founded by Devapala). It was in this Pala period, that many Indian teachers went to Tibet, where they strengthened Buddhism and translated thousands of Buddhist works into the Tibetan language, which are still preserved. In 8th-12th centuries many Tibetan Buddhist monks came to the monastic universities of Vikramasila and Nalanda for their studies. We have their records, but we do not find in them any mention of Sankara's crusade.

In the north-west of Pala kingdom, were the rulers of Kanva-kubja, who ruled the country from the rivers Yamuna to Gandak, and from the Himalaya to Vindhya mountains. Though these rulers were followers of Brahminism, they had great respect for Buddhism as shown by their magnificent gifts to the Buddhist monasteries. King Govendacandra donated five villages to the monasteries of Jetavana, as can be seen from his copper plate inscriptions. His Queen Kumaradevi built a magnificent vihara at Sarnath. His great grandson King Jayacandra was also a great admirer of Buddhism, as is shown by the Gaya inscription, in which this king is mentioned as a disciple of Mitrayogi, the famous Buddhist saint of the twelfth century, whose many works are still available in Tibetan translations. An old manuscript of the *Prajnaparamita*, which is now in the royal library of Nepal, was written for the queen of this king. Thus we find that until the end of the twelfth century Buddhism was prevalent in Northern India.

Buddhist images of the ninth and twelfth centuries are found in Mahoba, and also in Ellora, Nasik and many other parts of the Deccan, which shows that at that time Buddhism was prevalent in these parts. We find some Buddhist cave temples unfinished in Aurangabad and other places. In Sankara's own native country, Kerala the manuscript of *Manjusrimulakalpa* was found even later than that time (which is published in Trivandrum), and this shows, to say nothing of other parts, that even in Sankara's own birthplace, Buddhism was in existence many centuries after his

time. ~~Thus we know that the story that Sankara destroyed Buddhism in India is nothing more than a myth.~~

Now the question is: What was the chief cause of the disappearance of Buddhism in India?

The first cause of the decline of Buddhism was the prevalence of Vajrayana, which destroyed all moral strength, making the foundation of Buddhism very weak. The second cause was that just at that time the Turks came from the north-west, and dealt the final blow, which the structure of Buddhism was unable to withstand. Though the Turks destroyed the monasteries and temples of the Brahmins, and there were tantric practices among the followers of the Brahminism, still, the whole of Brahminism was not converted to tantricism. Some of the leaders of Brahminism based their teaching more on ethical rules and on good character, so that they were more respected; that is why we find that the Brahmanical temples were often restored, though the Buddhists were unable to restore their temples or monasteries. Take, for example, the famous temple of Visvanatha of Varanasi, which was destroyed several times and again and again was restored. First it was destroyed by the Turks who erected a mosque in its place, which is still there. And even now, on Sivaratri day, people visit the spot to offer flowers and water to a stone pillar standing in the courtyard of the mosque. Then the Brahmins created another Visvanatha-temple at a place known as Adivisvesvara (original Visvanatha); that was also destroyed. And then the third one was erected at Inana-vapi, which was destroyed by Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century. Again the Brahmins were able to construct another one which is the present temple of Visvanatha. Here we find examples of the activities of the Brahmins, and how they were able to collect sufficient funds to erect marvellous temples; but if we look at the ruins of Buddhist monasteries and temples, we find quite another story. Quite near Varanasi, at Sarnath, which is one of the most sacred places for Buddhists, the last was built by the Queen Kumaradevi of the eleventh century, and after its destruction no restoration was made. We find the same thing in connection with Nalanda, Jetavana and other Buddhist places in Middle India. They show that when once Buddhist monuments were destroyed, Buddhist monks were unable to restore them. What was the cause? It was because the Buddhist monks who were the leaders of the whole Buddhist com-

The Rise and Fall of Buddhism in India

195

munity, had no reputation for good character or other admirable qualities. They were respected only because people thought that they possessed supernatural power through their tantric practices and incantations. Through the great blow which the Turks dealt to these supernatural powers, the whole foundation of their prestige and honour vanished; and their immoral practices were laid bare before the people; therefore they were not helped by the people in the restoration of their temples. Also by reason of their special dress and lonely dwellings, outside the cities or towns, they were conspicuous enough to be singled out by the invaders. On account of these two causes they were forced to flee from India to border countries such as Nepal and Tibet. Thus by the fall of the Buddhist monasteries and temples, and by the absence of their leaders the Buddhist monks, Buddhists were abandoned and left without guides, and within one or two centuries, some of them who had relatives and caste people of their own in the Brahmanic faith, returned to that faith. Others who were considered inferior in caste, such as weavers and others were tempted, and even forced to accept Mahommedanism. Thus somewhere in the fourteenth century Buddhism disappeared from the Middle country. It lingered for a few years more in some other places; but without backbone it was unable to stand; and thus the disappearance of Buddhism from its native land became complete.

From the Land of the Lamas

LIKE SCRIPT, LITERATURE, religion and many other things, in Tibet the art of painting too was introduced to that country from India in the 7th and 8th century of our era. The technique is Indian. The dress, ornaments, pose and even the physiognomy of gods and goddesses are exclusively Indian. Fathers of Tibetan art were trained in the great universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila. Thus the Tibetan art belongs to the same families of art to which are related the arts of Ajanta and Bagh in India and of Sigiriya in Ceylon. Though the Chinese and Japanese arts are influenced by Indian arts and ideas, Tibetan art is purely Indian. From Tibet it spread into Mongolia and distant Siberia, where many masterhands still reside. They are rich in expression of hidden and subtle ideas. Like old masters of India, Tibetan painters are experts in drawing delicate curves, graceful folds of cloth and fine, cloudy backgrounds, etc. Their blending of colours is wonderful.

In India and Ceylon by reason of war and political troubles the continuity of the old schools was broken. During the Mohammedan period all great treasures of art were burnt and

This article was published in a Colombo paper, *Leader*, in February 1932. It has not been included in any book of Rahulji's. At the end of the article there is a list of paintings with brief legends about them. These paintings have Arabic numerals.

The article was later reproduced in a brochure entitled "Exhibition of Buddhist Tibetan Paintings". The exhibition was held in the Buddhist Mission Headquarters, 41, Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, London, N. W. between 15 and 22 October 1932. At the end of the article, are listed many of the paintings mentioned in the Colombo version but with briefer legends. These have Roman numerals.

We collated and integrated both versions as best as we could.

Now the legends appear with Roman numerals of the London version. Their equivalents in the Colombo version are printed between square brackets. Four of the London version (Under-D) do not appear in the Colombo one. There are some in the Colombo version, which do not figure in the London one. These extra legends are added at the end without square brackets, under the heading "Other Paintings in the Colombo Version."

~~destroyed. For centuries, great masters were decorating the walls of the University buildings of Nalanda and Vikramasila which were destroyed at the end of the 12th century. In those days art was a common thing. When I read in Sanskrit poems and dramas that art was a common thing, it was difficult to believe the statement. But after visiting Tibet where there is not a single house without one or two paintings hanging on the wall I had to change my mind. The ugliest of these pictures is far superior to those which we generally keep in our houses. There is a universal demand for these pictures so you find many people are employed in this work. During the Mohammedan rule in India, our painters had no patrons. In a country where no temple or palace was safe, who should think of spending money on them. So during the period of 13th to 15th century, old Indian arts disappeared. The first Mohammedan rulers, like so many learned Mohammedans, thought it against their religion even to tolerate images, not to speak about patronising art. In Mughul period there was a revival of art but then it was not the old indigenous art, but the Persian art which was afterwards influenced by Indian ideas and is now known as Rajput art. Thus like so many philosophical works, it was for Tibet to preserve Indian art like a guardian god; for which we will ever be thankful to Tibet.~~

Tibetan artists have an unbroken relationship with the masters of Nalanda and Vikramasila. In all the big monastic universities there is special arrangements for the study of painting. Apprenticeship is very hard. Boys from their childhood take instructions from their teachers. It takes several years to master all the conventions. Those who cannot forbear the trouble, and therefore not worthy of the profession, are eliminated. In this way the Tibetan brush masters are made. In some families painting is a hereditary art, but they are exceptions. From the Grand Lama to the noble and the merchant, Tibetans are always in search of good paintings. So the life of a painter is always attractive. There is one defect in Tibetan art, namely, it is too conventional. On account of this it cannot be described as a living creative art. Man's genius is fettered and deterioration is often seen.

The study and collection of old Sanskrit works of Dingnaga, Dharmakirti, Asanga and others (which are no more available in Sanskrit original, but are preserved in their Tibetan translations) was the chief purpose of my visit to Tibet. I had no inclination

to collect paintings; but the beauty of Tibetan arts forced me to have some specimen of them. In Tibet it is not easy for a foreigner to collect paintings. The religious minded people think it a great sin to give the paintings of their gods and lamas to the hands of an infidel. Therefore the best collections of Tibetan paintings are very few outside Tibet. By my long stay in Lhasa I was known to many Tibetans with whose help I was able to collect about 150 paintings within a brief period of two months. The climate of Tibet is cold and dry. In that altitude of 12,000 to 15,000 ft. white ants and so many other insects are absent, that is why art objects and books can be preserved for a longer period than in Ceylon and India. As I was primarily interested in literature, I was not able to ascertain the exact age of these paintings, but there is no doubt about their antiquity.

BUDDHIST TIBETAN PAINTINGS

A

In this group there are twelve (I-XII) inscribed paintings, all belonging to the 17th century. They were acquired from the famous monastery of Tashi-lhunpo.

Subjects are historical personalities.

I. Arahat Subhuti, one of the prominent disciples of the Buddha and more venerated in Mahayana.

II. Bhavya, 5th century AD, an Indian philosopher and commentator of *Madhyamaka Karika* of Nagarjuna (2nd century).

III. King Manju Sri Kirti, a great Indian mystic propounder of the Kalacakra cult.

IV. Ratnakara Santi, a great Indian philosopher poet, one of the 84 mystics and who was the head of Vikramasila University in the end of 10th century AD.

V. Ratjnag Hgos-Lo (11th century), a Tibetan mystic disciple of the Indian teacher Atisha.

VI. Kun-Dgah Rhyal-htshan (b. 1181—d. 1249), a great Tibetan teacher. Head of the Sa-Skya monastery and disciple of the Indian teacher Skya-sri-bhadra, who visited Tibet 1203 after the destruction of Vikramasila monastery by the Mohammedans.

VII. Gyung-sten Rdo-rje-dpal, a Tibetan teacher of Sa-Skya-pa school.

VIII. Mkhas-grup (d. 1437), a great Tibetan scholar, one of the chief disciples of Tsong-Khapa, and who founded the great monastery of Sera near Lhasa in 1418.

IX. Chhos-kyi-rdo-rje, a great Tibetan scholar of Tashi-lhunpo, giving a lesson to his disciples.

X. Bol-Bzang Ye-shes, a Tibetan scholar of Tashi-lhunpo monastery.

XI. Bsod-nams Phyog-glang, a great Tibetan teacher of Tashi-lhunpo.

XII. Sanga-rgyas Ye-shes, a mystic scholar of Tashi-lhunpo with many teachers of mysticism.

[Nos 14-24 were obtained from Tashi-lhunpo monastery, the seat of the Tashi Lama, the most respected religious personality of the Buddhists of Tibet, Mongolia and Siberia. On the back of some of these paintings are marks made by a former Tashi Lama himself.

No 17 is Subhuti, one of the eighty disciples of Buddha though not so famous in the Theravada Buddhism. He is the chief bearer and expositor of Prajnaparamita, the most important scripture of Mahayana Buddhism.

No 19 is Bhavya, a great Pandit of India and the famous commentator of the chief philosophical work of Nagarjuna.

No 21 is Ratnakara-santi, one of the great mystics of India. A great scholar and author of both philosophical and mystic works. In the beginning of the 11th century, at the invitation of the Sinhalese king, he visited Ceylon and stayed there for three years, perhaps in Pollanaruva. He was one of the foremost scholars of the Vikramasila University. Most of his works are still preserved in Tibetan.

No 22 is Tamak, a Tibetan disciple of Atisha. No 23 shows *Mkhas-grups*, the second Tashi Lama (the present Chhos-kye-nima is the 7th).]

B

It is a panel of nine paintings, eight Indian Buddhist philosophers with Buddha in the centre. They are painted on China silk and belong to the 17th century. Acquired from Tashi-lhunpo monastery.

XIII. (1) Nagendra, an Indian teacher of Vijaya.

XIV. (2) Dingnaga (5th century), the Aristotle of Indian logic, a disciple of Vasubandhu.

XV. (3) Asanga (4th century), founder of the Buddhist idealistic philosophy, elder brother of Vasubandhu, born in Peshawar (India).

XVI. (4) Nagarjuna (2nd century), founder of the Buddhist Madhyamaka philosophy and the great propounder of Mahayana.

XVII. (5) The Buddha with his two chief disciples Sariputra and Maudgalyayana (the only available relics of these two disciples are now in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum).

XVIII. (6) Aryadeva (2nd century), the chief disciple of Nagarjuna, author of many philosophical treatise, born in Ceylon.

XIX. (7) Vasubandhu (4th century), a great Buddhist philosopher, author of *Abhidharmakosha*; younger brother of Asanga, and teacher of the great logician Dingnaga.

XX. (8) Dharmakirti (7th century), of Nalanda, the greatest Indian logician and the author of *Pramanavartika*.

XXI. (9) Subhakar, an Indian teacher.

[No 38 is the panel (drawn on Chinese silk) with nine famous Indian teachers with the Buddha in the centre. They did not go to Tibet, but their works were afterwards translated into Tibetan.

38 (a) Nagendra, a teacher of perhaps Vinaya.

(b) Dingnaga (5th century), father of logic, whose chief work *Pramana-samuchhaya* is lost in Sanskrit, but preserved in Tibetan with so many commentaries. An English translation is undertaken by Russian Savant Dr Stacherbatsky under the auspices of the Research Institute for Buddhist Culture of the Academy of Science of USSR.

(c) Asanga (4th century), the founder of Yogachara school of Buddhist philosophy, was born in Peshawar (in ancient Gandhara) and was the elder brother of Vasubandhu. He wrote so many philosophical treatises some of which are attributed to Bodhisattva Maitreya. He was the first propounder of mysticism which afterwards developed in Vajrayana which was one of the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism in India. On account of the mystic teaching, his philosophy was called Yogachara or Yogavachara.

(d) Nagarjuna (1st century) founder of Madhyamaka (relativity)

philosophy. ~~He is known as second Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism.~~ His chief philosophical work Madhyamaka-karika is available in Sanskrit.

(e) Lord Buddha with Sariputta and Modgallana.

(f) Aryadeva (1st century), a Sinhalese according to tradition, the chief disciple of Nagarjuna and author of the philosophical work Catus-shataka-Shastra published in Sanskrit.

(g) Vasubandhu (4th century), a younger brother of Asanga and author of Abhidharmakosa now restored with a Sanskrit commentary etc. by Rahul Sankrityayan.

(h) ~~Dharmakirti (7th century), the greatest Buddhist logician of Nalanda University.~~ His chief work is Pramanavartika which was lost in Sanskrit but preserved with many commentaries in Tibetan. ~~This work is now being restored into Sanskrit by Rahul Sankrityayan.~~

(i) An Indian scholar.]

C

These thirteen paintings belong to the time of the seventh Dalai Lama (first half of the 18th century). They were acquired from an incarnate lama of Lhasa. Most of the subjects depicted here are historical personages. Note Chinese gold embroidery on velvet below the paintings.

XXII. (1) Avalokitesvara, the merciful Bodhi-sattva (Buddha-elect) whose incarnations are Dalai Lamas of Tibet.

XXIII. (2) Emperor Srong-tsan Sgam-po (629-87), the Constantine of Tibet, founder of the city of Lhasa and its famous temple Jo-Khang. It was he who introduced the art of writing into Tibet.

XXIV. (3) Emperor Khri-srong-lde-tsan (801-54), a great warrior and a very zealous Buddhist monarch of Tibet, who built the first Buddhist monastery of Sam-ye, where first Tibetan monks were ordained by the great teacher, Santarakshita of Nalanda (who is depicted on the upper corner).

XXV. (4) Dom-ton-pa (d. 1063), a great Tibetan mystic disciple of Atisha (see upper right corner) with temple of Tara at Nethang where his teacher died in 1059.

XXVI. (5) Po-to-pa, a Tibetan mystic and disciple of Dom-ton-pa, died in 1081 at the Re-grang monastery.

XXVII. (6) Tsong-kha-pa, 1356-1418, the great Buddhist reformer of Tibet and founder of the Yellow-cap sect to which belongs the Dalai Lamas and Tashi Lamas.

XXVIII. (7) Gen-dun Idup (1404-74), the first Dalai Lama, founder of the Tashi-lhunpo monastery.

XXIX. (8) Gen-dun Rgya-nyscho (1474-1541), the second Dalai Lama, abbot of the Depung monastery near Lhasa.

XXX. (9) Sod'-nam Rgya-mtsho (1542-87), the third Dalai Lama, abbot of Depung.

XXXI. (10) Yon-tan Rgya-mtsho (1588-1615), the fourth Dalai Lama.

XXXII. (11) Lo-bzang Rgya-mtsho (1616-81), the fifth Dalai Lama, who received the kingdom of Tibet from the Mongol chief Gushi Khan. He built the famous palace of Potala in 1644 and was the first ruling Dalai Lama.

XXXIII. (12) Tshang-yang Rgya-mtsho (1682-1704), the sixth Dalai Lama, who broke the rule of celibacy at Tashi-lhunpo in 1701.

XXXIV. (13) Kal-zang Rgya-mtsho, the seventh Dalai Lama was born in 1707.

These paintings in Section C were made during the time of this seventh Dalai Lama.

[Nos 25-37—These paintings I acquired from a Lama-incarnate who had got them from his predecessor.

Even in Tibet this kind of paintings is very scarce. You can appreciate their beauty by examining them minutely. The Chinese embroidery below the paintings is now not found, and much priced. A trader tried to persuade me to sell those small pieces at three-fourth of the price of the whole paintings. Most of the persons depicted in them are historical. Nos 30, 31, 33 and 36 are the pictures of the past Dalai Lamas. No 28 is the picture of the fifth Dalai Lama—Sumatisagara who received the kingdom of Tibet as a present from the great Mongolian Chief Gushi Khan. He was the first ruling Dalai Lama who built the famous Po-ta-la palace. No 27 shows the mythical king of Shambala—the country where the future Chakravarti is to be born.

No 32 is the great emperor of Tibet. Srong-Tsan-Sgambo who conquered the modern Himalayan districts of India including Nepal in the north, upper Burma in the south-east, Western China in the east, the country—south of Mongolia, Chinese Tur-

kistan in the north and Gilgit (in Kashmir) in the west. Under his guiding hand the art of writing was introduced to Tibet in the 7th century. Below him are seen his two queens one of whom was a daughter of Chinese emperor. She brought the famous sandalwood Buddha Rupa from China, for which the emperor built the famous temple of *Jorenpoche*. It holds the same position in Tibet as *Ruvenveli* in Ceylon. It is depicted in the corner of the picture. Srong-Tsan-Sgambo was also the founder of Lhasa.

No 29 is Dge-hdun-grub, the first Dalai Lama.

No 35 is ~~the future Buddha Maitreya~~. No 37 is the successor of Atisha (11th century), ~~the great Indian mystic-philosopher and missionary who once visited the blessed Sinhala~~. Perhaps in that journey he took the Yaksha Snan-Mgon (No 9) who is known as a god of Sinhala and worshipped by Atisha. When Atisha was above sixty years of age, he undertook a journey to Tibet in order to propagate Buddhism and there he died in a place called Nor-thang, a few miles from Lhasa. The scene of his death—Tara Temple—is seen on the left, and the great Atisha on the right. Dom-ton-ba (No 37) is acknowledged as the preceptor of the big lamas of Yellow hat sect including the ruler Dalai Lama. He wrote a biography of his teacher in verse, the last portion of which is very touching.]

D*

These four paintings were acquired at Lhasa. They belong to the 17th and 18th centuries.

XXXV. (1) Lo-bzang Kalidan-yeshes, a Tibetan teacher of Tashi-lhunpo with Amitabha and other gods.

XXXVI. (2) Taba, the goddess of Mercy—22 kinds.

XXXVII. (3) Avalokitesvara of eleven faces with mystics.

XXXVIII. (4) Snan-gon, a mystic god imported from Ceylon to Tibet in the 11th century by Atisha.

OTHER PAINTINGS IN THE COLOMBO VERSION

No 2 is a painting of Maitreya, the future Buddha from Sam-ye monastery, the oldest in Tibet and built by Mahamahinda

* Paintings under D do not figure in the Colombo version. Cf. footnote on p 196.

of Tibet—the great philosopher Santarakshita of Nalanda—who went to Tibet when he was above 70 years. Sam-ye is situated in the valley of Brahmaputra and the first Tibetan Bhikkhus were ordained in that monastery. It was also there that the most of the Buddhist works were translated into Tibetan.

Nos 3 and 7 are two guardian gods Dhatarattha and Vassavana who are well known in Pali literature.

No 4 is the goddess Ushnisha-vijaya in whom is personified the cap-like (ushnisha) head-top of the Buddha.

No 6 shows twenty-one kinds of goddess Tara mentioned in *Tisara Sandesa* by the Sangharaja Sri Rahula.

No 8 is Vajradhara, the mighty god of Vajrayana, the last horrible phase of Buddhism in India with several Indian mystics around him.

No 9 (please see above) Snan-mgon taken from Ceylon. Perhaps in the 11th century, a little before the great Parakrama Bahu of Ceylon, there were plenty of these Yakshas of this type in Ceylon; but Parakrama forced them to leave the shore.

No 10 is Bu-ston (13th century), one of the greatest Tibetan scholars, compiled and classified the whole translations of Indian works into two big collections, namely *Skanjur* (translations of the Buddha's words) and *Stanjur* (translations of the Shashtra). He was a voluminous writer and is the author of *History of Buddhism in Tibet*, the first part of which is just published in English edited by a great Russian scholar.

No 11 is Tsong-kha-pa (14th century), the great reformer and founder of the yellow sect to which belong most of the big monasteries and lamas including Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama.

No 12 is Maitreya in Tushita with many departed great teachers of Buddhism. Atisha is seen just nearby.

No 13 shows the head of the Karma-pa sect, one of the four prominent sects of Buddhism in Tibet.

Anatta or the Doctrine of Non-Soul

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY MAY be defined in three words: Anatta, Dukkha, Anatta, that is, Impermanence, Dissatisfaction, and Non-Soul, though even the latter two can be included in impermanence. Without any exception ~~impermanence is the universal law~~. It applies to all things external and internal, the soul of self being no exception to this rule. According to the teachings of the Buddha the law of change is the only law without change. Since all things are impermanent, two things cannot remain together for a long time. The company of the things or the people whom we like brings happiness, yet because of the law of impermanence or change, we are bound to lose them. Therefore dissatisfaction or dukkha has also its cause in the law of impermanence. Where the arrow of separation is always ready to shoot us through, how can we enjoy the company of those we love? Like a few drops of water to a very thirsty man, it only brings about more irritations. Because of this law of change or impermanence, we cannot enjoy happiness to our complete satisfaction. Thus dissatisfaction or dukkha is hidden in every happiness like the shadow beneath the lamp. Like dukkha or dissatisfaction, the doctrine of non-self is also based on the application of the law of impermanence without exception. (Thus impermanence, dissatisfaction, non-soul form the foundation-stone of the teaching of the Buddha, or, since the other two are based on the law of impermanence, we can say that the teaching is based on the law of impermanence. Dissatisfaction is one of the four noble truths. Together with this, the cause of dissatisfaction, its destruction, and the way of escape from it, make up the four noble truths.

This article was published in *The British Buddhist* (London) in September 1932.

The way of escape from dissatisfaction is also called the noble eight-fold path, and in this path is included all the other teachings of the Buddha. Thus the noble eightfold path is included in the four noble truths; and the four noble truths are inter-connected with the law of impermanence, dissatisfaction and non-soul.

There is one word more to say. Some western scholars are expounding a theory that the teaching of the Buddha is based on the theory of soul, and in order to prove their pet theory, they sometimes comment on the words in a way which is against the tradition, against the grammar and against the usage of the language, and thus in a way they make themselves ridiculous. After the death of the Buddha, during the last two thousand five hundred years, many differences of opinion have arisen among Buddhists. (At first there were eighteen old schools of thought and then came the Mahayana and afterwards Vajrayana.) They had many different opinions, some fundamentally against one another, but the one doctrine on which they never differed, was the doctrine of non-soul.

Let us examine this doctrine of non-soul. In the time of the Buddha, the Brahmins, wandering ascetics and other teachers believed that inside the body but different from the body, there was a conscious entity which was eternal and changeless. When it was inside the body, the body was warm and had conscious action; when it left the body, then the body became cold and inert. That eternal conscious entity was called soul. In addition to those teachers at that time, there were other teachers who asserted that there was no soul apart from the body, and that living entity was produced by the chemical mixture of many elements. When those different elements were not mixed in their proper proportion, then the soul died. Thus they held that there was no soul apart from the body. (The Buddha, on the one hand, did not accept soul as eternal and changeless substance; and on the other hand he did not accept it that with the destruction of the body, life was destroyed.) Leaving these two extremes, he took the middle path by saying, Soul is not a permanent and changeless entity but is produced by the mixture of five aggregates, i.e., matter and mind, and is, like the external aggregates, every moment dying and giving place to another of its own kind. Though the mind, or what you call soul, is at every moment appearing and disappearing, yet because the

flow continues in this body, the body is called alive. There is a close similarity between the changes of our body and of our mind. Our body is changing every moment. At the age of forty it is not the same as it was at the age of five or at the age of twenty; and at the age of sixty it won't be the same as it is now. Every atom, proton, electron or neutron of which our body is composed, is continually leaving its place while another of its kind is coming in its place. Though the succeeding is not identical with the preceding one, yet according to the law of heredity there is much similarity. That is why when we see a young man of twenty-five, after ten years, in spite of much physical difference, there yet is similarity, and so we recognise the person at the different age of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, years; which strikingly demonstrates this law of similarity and dissimilarity in succession. Like the body, our self or soul, or mind, is also changing every moment, but in this change also the law of heredity, or similarity and dissimilarity is found, and so we say: "This is the same personality. There is the same individual." There is difference in the individual, no doubt. If you did not smoke cigarettes two years ago, then it might have been very difficult for you to tolerate somebody else smoking very near you. But that you have accustomed yourself to it, you feel no particular disgust. A man two years ago was fond of killing innocent birds and animals. It seemed to him to be a joy to kill small creatures. He saw with pleasure their sufferings and trembling of body. But now, after two or three years, you find a great change in the same person. Now he can no longer bear to see a bird fallen down, suffering from wounds, or even from an accident. We cannot say that it is the same self. Though there is similarity, still there is change. If you are accustomed to writing your diary, depicting therein your likes and dislikes, and if you read it back for the past ten years, you will find many thoughts which you use to claim as your own (Man is, of course, nothing but the aggregate of thought). But now after ten years, if somebody without letting you know what he was doing, were to quote from your diary, and place your own words before you, it is quite possible that you might emphatically reject the saying: "No, those are not my ideas." Of course, if you knew that they were taken from your diary, you might be able to accept them, though not perhaps without some hesitation. You would try to explain by saying: "I used to think so then but now I do

not agree with them. The like is true about the self. You are not the same person that you were ten years ago. In the course of these ten years the various experiences which you have encountered have changed you."

Perhaps you may say: "Mind can be changed; but the law of change does not apply to soul." But what ground is there for believing in a soul apart from mind? If you meditate deeply on the subject, you will find that mind, consciousness and soul are the very same thing.

In the case of eye, ear, nose, taste and touch, we can perceive them directly, but the same cannot be said of mind. Why is it that we can accept the existence of mind? Because when we see some tasteful fruits, while seeing it, we find water coming into the mouth, before even the fruit is tasted. Similarly, as soon as you smell a bad smell, your hand goes to your nose in order to ward it off. You know that eye, tongue and nose are not one sense, nor yet are they in the same place, yet one of them is affected by the experience of the other. That shows that there must be some connecting link between them; and it is this which constitutes the necessary third factor in the case. In this way it is that the sixth faculty which inter-relates all the five senses distributed throughout the different parts of the body, is the mind. The five senses send their messages to the sixth faculty, whence the different messages of action are sent to different parts of the body. The mind is that faculty which perceives, analyses, judges and then ordains what is to be done. (The faculty of mind does not function like the commander of an army sitting apart from the forces; but is like a glass pipe to which five tubes, filled respectively with red, yellow, green, blue and grey powders are connected.) In that glass pipe water is running; and the mouths of these five tubes are opened one after the other. Whichever mouth is open at any particular moment, the corresponding colour is dropped into the water, and so gives its colour to the water. When we see a black cobra with our own eyes, at once this knowledge goes to the mind, and because the mind contains the seeds of past experiences, when the presence of the cobra is signalled to the mind, the mind discerns it and judges that here is something dangerous to life; all this happening in a very brief time. When the cobra is discerned, the whole mind becomes coloured with the colour of fear, there exists no other colour but the colour of fear. When you are

possessed of fear, it is impossible for you to make yourself smile, because at any one moment there can only be present the one feeling of joy or of fear. Even if the cobra is seen only for a moment and then disappears, still like a turning wheel losing its momentum, the mind will take a little time to recover from fear. Every successive phase of mind takes something as inheritance, from its predecessors, yet with every succeeding moment the effect is lessened, seeing that the source of fear is not present. If the snake is seen for some time, and if it is also coming towards you, then every mental state successively arising at every moment, will have some fresh perception plus what is inherited from its predecessors, and so the feeling of fear will increase. What is here said about fear, can also be said about all other feelings, whatever they may be.

For the foregoing reasons, then, we are forced to infer the existence of a sixth faculty or mind which can correlate the action of the five external senses. You may call it mind, or by any other name, even soul; we have no objection. But now, what need is there for accepting soul as something apart from this mind? If you say, "Because mind is always changing, there is no recording medium to preserve our memory of the past. In order to preserve this memory we must have some permanent substance (though that will not be said by the Brahmins and others like them who believe that the mind is not a momentary thing)." But though mind is momentary, still it is the cause of its successor; and according to the law of heredity, just as sons and grandsons take so many things from their parents, so the new-coming mind also has the seeds of the past experience of its predecessors, and those seeds are the cause of memory. In reality there is no possibility of producing an impression or a substance which is permanent, and memory is undoubtedly an impression. Therefore this impression of memory cannot possibly be produced on an eternal substance such as soul is supposed to be. But if any one still persists in saying that it is possible, then when once such an impression has been imprinted on it, it will last for ever. It is, however, illogical to suppose that upon a *permanent, changeless* soul, there can be stamped an impression of the experiences of every moment.

There is yet another difficulty. If the soul can have impressions made upon it, then its whole being will be changed, because soul

is not a material or solid thing upon whose *surface* only some impression can be produced.

If soul is composed in a single unit, then the whole soul will be affected by any impression made on it, and the whole consciousness will be changed according to that impression; and then all the knowledge obtained through the various senses will enter and remain in the soul, and simultaneously the perceptions which produce anger, enmity, and so on, will enter into the soul, causing confusion. In truth a soul which now experiences enmity or anger, cannot be said to be the same one that was experiencing love a few moments before. If its states are changed from moment to moment, how can it be said to be changeless? If it is changing, how can it be claimed as eternal? If it is affected permanently, then how can salvation be obtained?

Here you may put the question: "If soul is not an eternal substance, then, after the destruction of body, who will receive the retribution of its past good or bad actions?" But that raises the other question: How are we to understand the retribution of action? Let me explain it. We do not say that whatever good or bad action we perform, God sends some special shorthand-writer to make a record of it. Whatever we do, by mental or physical or vocal action, whether good or bad, arises from mind. Therefore if one performs some action expressive of anger, the mind must first become angry. It is the same with regard to attachment and all other feelings; and the mood of anger or attachment, or whatever it may be, remains so long as it is not counteracted, made weak or destroyed. A man does not become cruel in one day. Even surgeons, who have good, not bad, intentions, none the less take some time to acquire enough courage to perform an operation, for, at the first sight of blood their mind is affected. What is to be said about the killing or wounding of some innocent child, the sight of which cannot even be borne by the bystanders (though the moods of the bystanders lie in another direction, namely, compassion)? What is to be said about the hard-heartedness of the man who creates that suffering? We therefore see that whatever we do, our mind is affected by that action; and if we indulge in cruelty, our mind will become more hardened every moment and, according to its hardness, will lose the capacity for finer development. The good and bad mental states are just like plus and minus. If the plus quantity is more than the

minus quantity, then credit will go to the plus side. The whole account of mind is always posted up to date, up to the minute. It is not left undone, to be made up after weeks, months or even years. A man, at any given moment, is the sum-total of his past good or bad actions. When the next personality arises, it has inherited likewise its past predecessors' experiences; and this continuity of inheritance is constant throughout our life from childhood to old age, from birth to death. This is not very difficult to understand. But according to the teaching of the Buddha, this continuity extends to the life hereafter and to the life in the past, i.e., after death, in the future, it runs onto our future life; and before birth, it was connected with our past life. At the moment when the mind is ready to leave the body, it is made up of the experiences of this life. But the difficulty arises; how is an action of our present mind to be joined up with another life?

Let me give you an illustration. Suppose that some molten iron is running down through a channel, and the channel reaches a certain place where there is a big rock, which stops the flow. Suppose that just on the other side of the rock there is a sufficient large and powerful magnet. It will be sure to attract the molten iron to the other side, since it possesses the inherent quality of attracting iron. Similarly our mind-flow or life is running in this body from birth until the end of this life. When that end is reached its action having that inherent quality, causes to be attracted by the kindred vehicle of life which is ready somewhere else. When this flow of mind is attracted towards, and turned into, another channel, the same process again begins in another life. This flow continues to run on as long as there is selfishness which like the banks and bed of a river, creates the separate individual channel. When those banks and bed which make the channel are destroyed, there is no bond to hold the individuality, and that stage is called Nirvana. It is in this way that the retribution of bad or good action travels with the life from one body to another. Of course, we cannot here explain in detail the doctrine of rebirth.

If you accept soul as eternal, you must accept it as unborn also. Then the semitic religions, such as Christianity, Judaism and Mohammedanism, which don't believe in rebirth, are forced to accept it that the unborn soul, not for one million or one billion years, but from eternity, was kept in some place without a body, without action and no better than a lifeless object, and that only

now for the first time it comes into this world, and this too, without any previous cause.

There is also another point that demands explanation. Why do we find some people born blind, deaf, with hereditary disease, born weak, born idiot, while others are very intelligent, healthy and with good sight, and so on? Why this difference? If you say that all these differences in different men are created simply by the will of a God, is it not a great injustice? When you see this injustice done by that God, however, great he may be, what guarantee is there that he will do any justice in future?

Another objection still, may be raised against these semitic religions. Because they do not believe in rebirth, they say that when a man dies, he or she remains dead up to what they call the day of judgement, when the soul will be condemned or blessed with heavenly happiness *for ever*—not for a few million or billion years. Thus the man is to go to hell or happiness for eternity. Hence, if you believe in the permanence of soul, you have to accept all these illogical conclusions. Now as to the belief in rebirth, accompanied at the same time by belief in the eternity of soul, it must be pointed out that these two beliefs are contradictory. If the soul is eternal, then it is changeless i.e., it remains always the same; so that if it is pure, it will always remain pure. But in that case where is there any possibility of birth? If it is impure, then it will remain impure, for in that case, where lies the possibility of salvation? We have already pointed out the impossibility of good or bad action making any impression upon it, if it is accepted as being eternal. If you retort that to receive impressions there is present the mind, apart from soul, then that mind is enough. What use is there for a soul?

The question may be asked: If mind and soul are the same, and are momentary in duration, why then do we commonly say: "I existed before. I am now." Why do we find this unity if there really is diversity? The answer is: Because there is a general rule in the world that where we find an apparent unity, in reality there is plurality. For instance, take any common stone. It is made up of millions of small atoms, and these atoms are made up of many protons and electrons; so that the stone is a composition of thousands and millions of these tiny particles. We thus see that in the ordinary usage of the word, we are accustomed to use the singular number although a thing may be com-

posed of many parts. Apparently one object is not one, but many. What is our body? It is also made up of many particles, yet we say one body. What is a forest? It is composed of thousands of trees, yet we use the singular number, saying a forest. There are many stars, each composed of hundreds of stars, still we name them as one. But there is a little difference between this example, and our mind. Since in a body, forest or star, the component parts seem to exist at one time and in one place, while the flow of mind or consciousness is changing every moment. In order to have a good example, we should take a rapidly whirling fire-work or a propeller of an aeroplane on a running electric fan. While the slim propeller is moving swiftly, it touches different places at different times; but the interval of time is so small that our sight is unable to detect it; and thus, adding time as fourth dimension, we see it as a circular disc. Mind likewise is also changing very swiftly, more swiftly than anything else in the world, and so it is difficult to detect the changes which are incessantly taking place in such short periods of time; and because of this lack of that detection, we take the mind to be one thing. A stream also we speak of as one thing but is it not made of millions of small drops of water? And is not each drop of water made up of uncountable atoms of hydrogen and oxygen? And is not every atom made up of many protons and electrons (also with sufficient space inside the atom for their movement)? These electrons also in their turn are made of many neutrons. So here also there appears to be one given which yet is many. In the world you see, everything is compounded of many things. But in our current speech, it is an accepted convention to speak of a thing as one, while in reality it is many. Hence it must not be thought strange if we say "one mind" or "one soul" while in reality it is composed of a flow of many past and present minds. The strange thing is that while in the common world our experience shows every thing to be compound, we still name them as if they were each one thing; and yet when we come to speak about self or soul we object to applying the same rule.

It may be objected that if soul is momentary and does not exist the next moment, then where is the possibility of its perfection and purification? This however is not a very serious objection. Though the mind is momentary, still the flow of mind is not momentary; though the two banks and the bed with their constituent particles of the river Thames are constantly changing,

still the flow in them remains, and so we give the whole an abstract name as *Thames*. Likewise every mind is perishing and begetting another one in its place, but the flow is there, and perfection and purification is for the flow, not for the one component. To whatever extent the imperfection of anger, attachment and confusion is eliminated from the flow of mind, to the same extent the mental and physical action of the individual become purified, and to the same extent the individual is able to do more beneficial work for himself and others. When there is no trace of these impurities in an individual, in his flow of consciousness, then he is free. In the most selfish man who is full of these mental impurities, his interest is centred in his own self; but when he eliminates these defects, he cares more for his family, for his city, for his country, thus elevating himself. And when his interest in the welfare of others has no limit, but extends to all living beings, then it may be called a state of selflessness. Just as a circle whose radius is zero is called a point, and a circle whose radius is infinity, has no name; in the same way the most selfish man is he whose interest is centred in himself; while one whose interest is the welfare of all living beings is without selfishness. He may be compared to the circle whose radius is infinity. He may be called one who has attained *Nirvana*, or the highest development to which man can reach. In order to reach to that highest goal one has to evolve oneself by performing benevolent actions, in different stages for countless years. These stages are well illustrated in the *Jataka* stories. The giving up of selfishness is the elimination of the misery of the world. It is through our selfishness that we have made this world more miserable than it would otherwise have been.

Thus though mind is momentary, still because the flow is not momentary, there is the possibility of purification and perfection. In reality, if we accept soul as something eternal and changeless, there is no possibility of perfection and purification. If we hold that there is possibility of perfection and purification, then we must also hold that it is changing; and if to such a changing immaterial (mental) substance you choose to give the name of soul, we shall not quarrel with you over a word. I have now told you why Buddhists believe in the doctrine of non-soul or non-self.

Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature Preserved in Tibet

THE STORY OF the spread of Sanskrit literature and Indian culture outside India is indeed ~~an interesting and romantic one~~. Other languages and cultures have generally spread directly or indirectly through the use of the sword. Political conquests are mainly responsible for the spread of the Spanish in South America and Mexico, of the English in India, of the French in Indo-China and of the Dutch in Indonesia. The spread of Indian culture and the Sanskrit language in South-east and Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan seems to be an exception to the usual phenomenon. Princes spurned the prospects of royalty, donned yellow robes and went to unknown lands to preach the holy gospel. These were not the days of air travel when missionaries could reach their destination in comfort, in a couple of days. Roads between India and China and Tibet were extremely dangerous; big deserts had to be crossed where there was no bird in the air or animal on the ground, and so the track was very difficult to find. About two in ten could reach the destination—the rest would become victims of pestilence and pirates, slippery passes and swift rivers, dacoits and famines. There were no public organisations to collect funds and support the missionary activities. It was the fervour of idealism, the spirit of self-sacrifice and defiance of death that were at the root of the spread of Indian culture in these distant lands. Let us offer our homage to the memory of those selfless saintly scholars and pray that their spirit may once more animate the soul of modern India, so that she may once more rise to a glorious place in the comity of nations.

India and Tibet have long been connected with each other by

nature and tradition. The sacred and mighty rivers like the Sindhu, the Satlej and the Brahmaputra take their origin in Tibet. The Manasa lake, which has been attracting pilgrims from hoary antiquity, is situated on its plateau. The Uttara-Kuru and the Uttaramadra, the mythical land of happiness, were on the outskirts of Tibet, if not included in it. We have, however, little information about the history of the Tibet of the early period. What was passing in the country in the Vedic, Upanishadic, Mauryan and Gupta periods is not known to us. Tibet has preserved hardly any history of her land prior to the entry of the Buddhism there in the 7th century AD. In Java, Sumatra and Borneo Indian culture and the Sanskrit language were spread first by Hindu missionaries; the Buddhists followed their footsteps in later times. In Tibet, Central Asia and China Hindus do not appear to have played any important part in the spread of Indian culture. This is rather inexplicable. Hinduism could spread to Nepal in the early centuries of the Christian era; it is not easy to understand why it could not spread its influence further to the north. History has its own mysteries, not all of which can be solved by us.

Buddhism entered Tibet during the reign of King Srong-tsan-gampo (637-93), but monasteries began to be built only in the next century. It was about 750 AD that Buddhism began to make appreciable progress when Padmasambhava from Orissa and Vairochana from Kashmir came to Tibet with a band of disciples and proceeded to disseminate Buddhism under the royal patronage. To achieve success in this purpose it was essential that the religion should be preached to the Tibetan in their own language; Buddhist work, therefore, began to be translated into Tibetan. Later on during the 11th century, a number of distinguished scholars from Nalanda and Vikramasila gave considerable impetus to this work under the leadership of Dipankara Srijnana. (During the 13th century a large number of refugee-monks from Nalanda and Vikramasila were welcomed to Tibet by its government, practically the only valuable possessions which these scholars brought with them were the manuscripts that they had carefully preserved during most adverse times.)

It should not however be supposed that other provinces were indifferent to this missionary work. The vast majority of manuscripts found in Tibet are no doubt in proto-Magadhi, proto-Ben-

gali, proto-Maithili and Newari scripts. A good percentage of them are, however, in the Kutila and the Sarada scripts, showing that Kashmir and Tibet also were making their own contribution to this work. Nor need we presume that the spread of Indian culture in Tibet was a work done by Northern Indian alone. About 5 per cent of the manuscripts discovered so far are in Tamil script. It is evident that some enterprising monks from Madras were also participating with enthusiasm in this work. Ceylon received her Buddhism from India but in the medieval times, Ceylonese monks were cooperating with the mother country in spreading the religion to Tibet. The script of a number of manuscripts found in Tibet is Sinhalese. To the Buddhist monks at this time the entire earth was their home-land; the Vedic message of evangelisation of the universe (*Krinvanto visva aryam*) was being acted upon at this time more by the Buddhists than by the Hindus. Available evidence shows that most of the Sanskrit manuscripts were taken to Tibet from the 8th to the 15th century. The colophons of some of them refer to the reign of Dharmapala of Bengal (C. 760 to 800 AD). Others like the Sudrachara are works of the authors who flourished in the 15th century.

In spite of the injunction of the Buddha, Sanskrit had become the medium of writing in Buddhism at this time. The Mahayanists, the Mahasanghikas and the Sarvastivadins were using Sanskrit or mixed (hybrid?) Sanskrit for their works. Buddhist preachers, who went to Tibet, were mostly Mahayanists and therefore the literature which they carried with them was almost entirely in Sanskrit. Pali manuscripts have not been found so far. The cultural value of the literature taken to or preserved in Tibet is thus very great to the student of Sanskrit literature.

The extent of the Sanskrit literature that was taken to Tibet is indeed considerable. More than 4500 Sanskrit works have been preserved in their translations included in the Kanjur and Tanjur collections. Modern explorers have discovered the Sanskrit originals of a few hundred books in addition in the present and the last centuries. A large number of Sanskrit manuscripts were, however, lost when the monasteries at Beam-yes and Thogling were burnt down. Tibetans no doubt venerated Sanskrit as the devavani or the divine speech. But when all the important Sans-

krit works were translated into Tibetan, their Sanskrit originals ~~no longer remained indispensable. The average Tibetan lama was not educated enough to understand Sanskrit. Manuscripts in that language, therefore, remained quite undisturbed in the inaccessible racks of the few monastic libraries where they were preserved. Naturally many of them fell prey to insects.~~

It is strange but true that the deep reverence that was felt for the Sanskrit manuscripts often proved fatal to their proper preservation. They were often ~~embalmed~~ in images to increase their sanctity. Some years ago, when a stucco image broke in Bsames monastery, many manuscript leaves fell out from its interior, which were later carefully embalmed in a new image. The manuscript leaves are probably safe, but nonetheless they are lost to the world of scholarship. Tibetans believe that Sanskrit manuscripts have the miraculous power of healing diseases; if a patient drinks the water sanctified by dipping a leaf of Sanskrit manuscript his ailment is bound to disappear. Tibetan lamas, therefore, were in the habit of breaking palm leaves of manuscripts in order to give their fragments to ~~pressing supplicants.~~ This practice has naturally destroyed a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts.

The extant Sanskrit literature in Tibet is of considerable interest and importance. The Sanskrit literature that was taken to Tibet was predominantly Buddhist; but it contains several works bearing on non-Buddhist studies also. Grammar and Kosha works were as important to Buddhists as to Hindus, and so the Tibetan Sanskrit works include Amarakosha with several commentaries, Panini's grammar, Unadi Sutras, Dhatu Sutras, Karika, Kalpasutra, Sarasvata-vyakarana, Ghandragomi-vyakarana, etc. Kavya literature interested them considerably. We have works like the Kavyadarsa of Dandi, Subhashitaratnakarandaka and a drama on the Mahi-ravana legend among the interesting works. Pingala's Chhandasastra has also been preserved. Buddhist monks were considerably interested in medicine; excavations have revealed a monastery-cum-sanatorium called Arogyavihara at Pataliputra. Among the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet there are some well-known works like Ashtanga hridaya samhita, Rasasiddhisastra and Ayurveda-sarvasa-sangraha. Others like Arya-Nagarijunabhasita-bheshahja-kalpa and Sarvesvara-rasayana-sarvarogahara-sarira pushti-sastra seem to be works unknown in

the mother country at present. There were some books on education like Adhyayanapustaka-pathana kriyavidhi and Gurukriya-karma, which do not appear to have been preserved in India. The Yavana Jataka, of which a manuscript was discovered by Dr Tucci, apparently deals with ~~Greek or Arab~~ astrology. Rahaprasniya, Yuddhajaya, Nitisastraprajnadanda and Rajaparikatharatana were some among the books bearing on statecraft. Nor is erotics unrepresented in the Sanskrit literature of Tibet, Kamasastra, Ratirahasya and Narisiddhilabhavyakhyā are some of the works bearing on the subject.

Many of the works referred to above, though originally in Sanskrit, are now available only in Tibetan translations. As compared to Chinese translations the Tibetan ones are accurate and faithful and it is not very difficult to reconstruct the Sanskrit text exclusively with their help. One, however, cannot be sure about the absolute reliability of such a reconstructed text. Thanks to the labours of Levi, Tucci and Rahul Sankrityayan, we have now recovered a number of manuscripts of the original Sanskrit texts themselves.

Tantric practices were in ascendancy in the Mahayana Buddhism after the 8th century AD; naturally a good majority of the Sanskrit manuscripts are Tantra and Dharani works. Their study, however, will be useful for understanding the spirit and development of this aspect of the religious belief and practices.

The student of philosophy will undoubtedly find the Sanskrit manuscripts of Tibet of surpassing interest. The Mahayana philosophy was dominating in Indian thought from the 3rd century AD but many of the works of its early masters like Nagarjuna, Maitreya, Asanga, Vasubandhu, etc. have not been preserved in India. They were enshrined in and preserved by the famous centres of the Mahayana Buddhism like Sarnath, Nalanda and Vikramasila, whose libraries were all destroyed at the time of the Muslim conquest. Buddhism itself disappeared from India soon afterwards and so no more scholarly centres remained in the country even in the lay population, where these books could be preserved and studied.

The few remnants of the once immense Sanskrit literature in Tibet contain a few of the important works that proceeded from the pens of some of the early Mahayana philosophers. Thus the

Yogacharabhumi sastra variously attributed to Maitreya and Asanga is an important Mahayana work. Yuan Chwang had taken a copy of it with him to China and the work is known only from his Chinese translation. So far only a part of it called *Bodhisattvabhumi* was available in Sanskrit—now we have discovered the entire manuscript of the work; it is lying with the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute and steps are being taken to edit it. The *Chatustava of Nagarjuna*, was for a long time known only from its Tibetan translation; now a Sanskrit commentary on the work named *Chatustavasamasartha* has been found written by Amritakara. The manuscript of this work is in the collection of Dr Tucci at Rome. The *Ratnagotravibhaga* of the *Mahayanottaratanta* popularly attributed to Maitreya, is an important work which has been recovered from the Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet and has been recently published by the Bihar Research Society. The *Mahayanavimsaka* of Nagarjuna was for a long time known from its Chinese and Tibetan translations, now its original Sanskrit has been found and is in Dr Tucci's collection at Rome. The *Vimasatika* of Vasubandhu, written by him when he was converted to the Mahayana was for a long time known from its French translation of the Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit text was recovered in Tibet about three decades ago. The *Abhidharmasamuchchya* variously attributed to Asanga and Samgharakshita was known from its Chinese translation only; now its Sanskrit text has been recovered and is being published by Dr Tucci. *Abhidharmakosha-samuchchaya karika* of Samghabhadra, an important work of the Sammitiya school, has been recovered from Rome. The Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmakosha karika* of Vasubandhu long believed to be lost was recovered from Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayan and was published by Dr Gokhale in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1946. The *Abhidharmakoshbhashya* of Vasubandhu held in equal esteem by both the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists was so far known from its translation based upon the Tibetan translation published by Scherbatsky. We have now recovered its original Sanskrit. The manuscript has been deciphered by Mr Prahlad Pradhan and will be soon published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute. *Abhidharmapradipa* of the Vaibhashika school is another important metrical work of unknown authorship. Tibet has now supplied its Sanskrit manu-

script along with a valuable commentary; both however are fragmentary. More than half the work is however preserved. It seems to be a *varitika* on the *Abhidharmakoshbhashya*; the latter is extensively quoted and often criticised. This work has now been deciphered by Professor Jain of Banaras and will be soon published by the Jayaswal Institute. The work refers to the view of the Sarvasitovavadins, the Vibhajyavadins, the Sunyavadins and the Pandagalikas and quotes Dharmatra, Ghoshaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. The author seems to be a junior contemporary of Vasubandhu. Ratnakirti was a famous Mahayana philosophical writer of the medieval period. Dr Haraprasad Shastri had published six of his books; six more are now recovered and are in press in Patna. *Nyayabindu-anutika*, another valuable Sanskrit manuscript that we have recovered from Tibet, and that has been deciphered and is being published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.

Dharmakirti, who was called one of the six gems of Jambudipa or India, was mostly known from his translation; Tibet has now supplied to us *Pramanavartika-Bhashya*, a commentary by *Prajnakaragupta* on the *Pramanavartika* of Dharmakirti. This is an extensive work, about one seventh of the *Mahabharata*, and has been deciphered and edited by Rahul Sankrityayan and recently published by the Jayaswal Institute.

These books of the Mahayana school throw a lot of light on the development of the philosophical thought of the age. They help us in filling a number of gaps in our knowledge of the development of the Mahayana logic and philosophy, which had so important a bearing on the evolution of the Vedanta philosophy also. Many of these works used to be studied by the Hindu and Jain dialecticians also, who have often quoted them in their works. Their discovery and publication will undoubtedly throw a lot of new light upon the history and development of logic and philosophy in ancient India. By preserving these manuscripts through a dark and long period, Tibet has undoubtedly partly paid her debt to her spiritual homeland.

Books on monastic rules have also been preserved in the Sanskrit literature from Tibet. Their number is rather small, but their contents are often important. We are quite familiar with the Vinaya rules as preserved in the Pitakas. With the rise and

development of the monasteries, the life must have changed. (The monastic books preserved in Tibet give us a picture of the life during the decline of Buddhism and are of great importance in understanding that phenomenon.)

We have recently deciphered in Patna four new Sanskrit books on the subject preserved among the Tibetan manuscripts; they are the *Upasampdavritti*, the *Bhikshuprakirnaka* and *Sramaneratika*. The last three of these are very important and reveal to us many aspects of the monastic life, which are otherwise unknown to us.

The *Bhikshuprakirnaka* and the *Bhikshuniprakirnaka* which are companion works, belong to the Lokattaravadi school of the *Aryamahasaṃghika*s. They are important from the linguistic point also, because they are almost entirely in prose and written in what has been recently described as Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. Most of the Buddhist works written in this dialect are in metre. Professor Edgerton could lay his hands on two complete prose works only, the Mahayamsa and a short Jataka. He had come across only a short citation from the *Bhikshuprakirnaka*. When during his recent visit to Patna, I showed him the entire manuscript deciphered into Devanagari, his surprise knew no bounds; in a public lecture delivered there he said that he was inclined to make a *Sinhanada* when he saw the entire work.

The *Bhikshuni* and *Bhikshuprakirnaka*s supply very valuable data to the student of sociology and monastic organisation as well. The author of the book is obviously anti-feminist; the section on the *Bhikshuniprakirnaka*, which is devoted to describe the shortcomings and failings of the nuns is twice the size of the *Bhikshuprakirnaka* which deals with rules relating to monks. Graphic description is given of young nuns going astray and the specious pleas that were often advanced in extenuation of their lapses. It is interesting to note that a corresponding section does not occur in the *Bhikshuprakirnaka*. It appears that the milk of human kindness and affection flowed in larger quantities in the female veins than in male ones; we come across nuns—and not monks—supporting their poor relations by spinning, supplying medicines, etc. Monks and nuns who had been boycotted, could not be officially supplied food; but nuns often found it difficult to obey the rule when the offenders were their sons or daughters. The author of the work had his own flings at the so-called female vanity and points out how they (nuns from rich families) found

it difficult to part with their ornamental shoes and umbrellas. Fondness for shopping continued to trouble some ladies even after entering the order. We are told that costly clothes and jewelry which could not be disposed of in the city, often found purchasers among the inmates of the nunnery. This is probably an exaggeration. It was however apparently customary for a man or a woman to keep his or her ornaments as deposits with a banker at the time of entering the holy order and take their price by instalment, when necessary during his or her stay at the monastery or nunnery. We are told that the Buddha had approved of this practice.

Curiously enough, the section on the *Bhikshuprakirnaka* almost entirely passes over the failings and faults of the monks; it is mostly devoted to the organisational side of the monastic life. It throws a lot of light on topics about which we are still mostly in the dark. We, who are accustomed to see the massive remains of pucca brick monasteries, are likely to forget that a majority of the monastic residences were kaccha ones. The monasteries are divided by this work into three classes; first jyestha, second madhyama and third kanishtha. The monasteries of the last class had provision neither for bed-steads nor for lamps. Monasteries of the first class which were usually two storeyed had comfortable kitchens (agnisalas), prayer halls, dining halls, latrines and bath-rooms. Elaborate hot baths (jentakas) were often provided for monks suffering from *pitta*. There are detailed rules as to how long lights were to be kept burning at night in the different parts of the establishment; if funds permitted, they were to be kept throughout the night in the staircase, bath room and urinal. The problem of spitting was as uncontrollable then as it is now, but spitting on the ground and on the walls was prohibited and special pots were kept in which monks could spit. The abbots had to deal with complaints about the closing of the gates of the water-shed before the proper time. We get detailed description as to how invitations for feasts on the occasion of the marriage, births and deaths were to be accepted, how the monks were to behave at the house of the host, and what benedictions were to be given on the different occasions. Even when monasteries had become universal, some monks preferred to remain in forest; they often regarded themselves as belonging to a superior order, and were sometimes upset if the host served other

monk-guests before their arrival. Repair work on the monasteries was a rather ticklish problem. ~~It was usually carried out by self-help only~~; a few days before the rainy season were kept apart for the purpose. ~~A number of categories claimed exemption from this work and Dharmapathakas, Vinayadharas, Aranayakas, Pindacharikas and Paisukulikas were the chief ones among them.~~ During the rainy season, a number of wandering monks used to go for shelter in the different monasteries and it appears that they often ~~felt that the repairs of the structures in which they adjourned~~ was no concern of theirs, as they were temporary guests. ~~The Pithasthavis had usually a hard time in judging these divergent claims.~~

Sramaneratika, which is a commentary by Jayarakshita upon a lost work named *Acharasangraha*, is another work recently deciphered, which gives a vivid idea of the light which Sanskrit literature from Tibet can throw upon ancient Indian culture. The work professes to explain the ordinary ten rules that enjoin that a novice should not commit violence or theft or be guilty of incontinence, or put on garlands etc. These are ordinary rules, but the commentary illustrates them with such interesting details that it will be pronounced to be a very valuable work to the student of sociology. Jayarakshita, the commentator, seems to have received legal training. While dealing with *adathadana* or theft, he defines it as an offence which presupposes that (1) the article must be more than a pie (*kakini*) in value, (2) that it must belong to another, (3) the monk should have this knowledge, (4) that he must have the intention to steal, and that (5) he must remove the object from its original place. The theft of an elephant will be complete if a grazing elephant is made to change its direction. Beautiful or costly banners were hung on the stupas and they were often stolen. In their case the theft was regarded as complete even if the two ends tied to the staff were loosened. (If a novice caused a pearl necklace to be removed by another and to be deposited in a different place, with intention to take it away later then also it would be a theft.) If a weak monk kept vigil outside, while able-bodied accomplices were committing theft inside a bungalow, he also would be guilty of theft. (If two persons conspired to steal and only one removed the article, then the other also was guilty of the offence.) In the case of the theft of liquids, it was not necessary to remove

Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature Preserved in Tibet 225

the pot; if an aperture was made and the liquid began to come out, the theft was complete. If a monk acting as an arbitrator for the division of property between two brothers, appropriated for himself even a small part of the property, he would be guilty of theft. ~~It appears that governments in ancient India allowed gems to be imported tax-free, if they were intended for divine images;~~ our work says that a monk would be guilty of theft if he imported jewelry in collusion with merchants with the intention to return it to them when the barrier was crossed. Modern jurisprudence requires an article to be tangible and physical if a person is to be convicted of its theft. Jayarakshita, however, argues that if a monk entered into an undertaking to finish a work in a certain time, e.g. copying of a manuscript or finishing of a certain course or carrying out of a vow and failed to act accordingly, he would be guilty of *adathadana*.

Responsibility for murder is fixed upon a person even if he merely praises suicide, or allots a room to a person in the monastery knowing that there is a poisonous serpent in it, or advises a person to go by a road knowing it to be infested with dacoits or recommends the crossing of a river, knowing it to be full of whirlpools. In each case, of course, death must follow.

~~The legal principles thus enunciated are generally sound.~~ But in some cases they appear to be otherwise. If an article is stolen, but the owner has not lost hope of its recovery, and he happens to see it in the possession of the thief and snatches it away, he is not guilty of theft, but if he had lost all hope and then snatches it away from the thief, then he will be himself guilty of theft. A monk killing 'A' by accident, when he intended to murder 'B', is also absolved from the guilt of murder.

~~The Sramaneratika throws considerable light upon the life and culture in the Buddhist society.~~ Many of us have seen the Buddhist temples and monasteries side by side, but very few may have suspected that there may often have been bitter quarrel between the two. The cause of dispute was of course nothing else but pride, property and power. It appears that the custodians of the temple or the stupa used to argue that all the gifts given on festivals were intended for Bhagwan Buddha and so should belong to them; abbots of the monasteries were not willing to concede this claim. They pointed out that articles like gowns

and cots were obviously intended for the monastery and the temple should cast no longing eyes upon them. The differences were made up by sanctioning separate treasuries and storerooms for the temple and the monastery. Articles from the one could be transferred to the other only after making written entries into the account books.

Donors had the option to give the gifts either to the temple or to the monastery, but sometimes they departed without making known their intention. In such cases the convention was that the donation will belong to the temple if it consisted of gold and jewelry, otherwise it would belong to the monastery.

The Samgha or monastery itself however was not a homogeneous body. Some monks were permanent residents, while others were temporary guests, staying only for the monsoon. How then were the gifts to be shared: If the donor declared that the gifts like clothes or their price were intended for the monks present (sammukhithuta), then even the guests could get a share. If he restricted their use to either category of the monks, his wishes were given effect. But if he did not leave any special instructions, then there was difficulty, and usually they were claimed by the permanent residents.

Buddhist monks were not strict vegetarians as is usually supposed. Buddha himself had permitted meat eating if the animal had not been specially killed for the monk guest. This so-called *taduddisya* theory of meat eating prevailed in the medieval period also, and is upheld by *Acharasangraha*. It however seeks to restrict its scope when it prohibits a monk from taking meat even when the feast is intended for the monks or nuns in general and not for a particular individual. The monk in the story, who declined the egg offered to him, because it was *taduddisya* but quietly appropriated the eggs offered to and declined by his six companions, because they were not *tadusddisya*, as far as he was concerned, would not be exonerated by the rule in the *Acharasangraha*.

If a monk was invited as a guest by a layman and saw bones, wings, horns, etc. near the house, he was to enquire if any animal was killed for him. If such was the case, he could not take the meat preparation. If the host on the other hand stated that the bird was killed by a hawk, or that the bull was killed because it had trespassed in a field or that the goat was killed

Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature Preserved in Tibet 227

~~for a sraddha falling on that day then the monk could eat the meat preparation.~~ The host's usual reply on such occasions can well be imagined.

We came across interesting rules about avoiding the *himsa* even of insects in water. If a monastery was being built and a well was dug for the purpose whose water turned out to be *sajantuka*, and matters would not improve even by straining, then the work was to be stopped till the water became free of insects or a new well was to be dug. A well in the Gangetic plain costs only about ~~a couple of hundred rupees and not several thousands as in the Deccan.~~

I have tried to give here very briefly an idea of the light which some of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet that we have recently deciphered, throw upon several aspects of the life and culture in ancient India. The cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved or translated in Tibet can hardly be over emphasised.

As pointed out already, Tibet is now not very interested in preserving, deciphering and publishing the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in her monasteries. Have we taken all possible steps to make all arrangements for their photographs? Rajendra Lal Mitra, Levi and others could rescue some manuscripts and publish them. In recent years Rahul Sankrityayan and Tucci have done very creditable work in this field. During the thirties of this century Rahul Sankrityayan visited Tibet four times and secured the photographs of about 80 Sanskrit manuscripts which are lying with the Jayaswal Research Institute, which has now started publishing the important ones among them. The government of Bihar gave some financial assistance in this task. It is however the Italian government which has spent very large sums of money in recovering Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet. What interest can Italy have in the Sanskrit manuscript in Tibet? It, however, has financed liberally the numerous expeditions of Dr Tucci to Tibet to the extent of sanctioning not less than Rs 25,000 for each expedition. The Italian government pays the passage, besides providing a doctor, a steno-typist and a photographer. As a result Rome possesses almost a priceless collection of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet.

A number of monasteries have been already visited by Rahul and Tucci, among these Kundeling monastery at Lhasa, Shalu

monastery near Si-gartse, Spos-khang monastery near Gysntse, Ngor monastery at one day journey from Si-gartse, Gu-rem-lha-khang library at Saskya and Rta-nag Thub-stan monastery were important. The search for Sanskrit manuscripts is however not yet completely carried out; there were some places where the earlier workers could not go. It will be worthwhile visiting each one among the important monasteries and making careful investigations there. It is high time that the scholars and states in free India should make a concerted effort to recover the photographs of all the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet before it becomes too late.



Some Titles on Philosophy

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

A Popular Introduction

Fourth Edition

by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Rs. 35.00

LOKAYATA

A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism

Fourth Edition

by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Rs. 50.00

WHAT IS LIVING AND WHAT IS DEAD
IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Second Edition

by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Rs. 55.00

INDIAN ATHEISM: A MARXIST APPROACH

by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Rs. 50.00

BUDDHISM: THE MARXIST APPROACH

Third Edition

Rs. 5.50

MARXISM ON VEDANTA

Rs. 30.00

SMRTI POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEM:

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY

by Prabhavati Sinha Foreword by R. S. Sharma

Rs. 35.00

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
